THE *UNITED STATES* ELEVATED TO GLORY AND HONOUR.

A

SERMON,

PREACHED

BEFORE HIS EXCELLENCY

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, ESQ. L. L. D.

GOVERNOUR AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF,

AND THE HONOURABLE

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

OF THE

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,

CONVENED AT *HARTFORD*, AT

THE *ANNIVERSARY* ELECTION.

MAY 8th, *MDCCLXXXIII.*

BY EZRA STILES, D. D. L. L. D.

PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE.

AND IT SHALL BE TO ME A NAME OF JOY, A PRAISE AND AN HONOUR BEFORE ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH, WHICH SHALL HEAR ALL THE GOOD, THAT I DO UNTO THEM: AND THEY SHALL FEAR AND TREMBLE FOR ALL THE GOODNESS, AND FOR ALL THE PROSPERITY THAT I PROCURE UNTO IT.

JEREMIAH, XXXIII. 9.

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At a GENERAL ASSEMBLY *of the* GOVERNOUR *and* COMPANY *of the State of* CONNECTICUT, *holden at* HARTFORD *on the ſecond Thurſday of* May, *Anno Domini*, 1783.

ORDERED,

THAT ROGER SHERMAN, Eſq; and Captain HENRY DAGGETT, return the Thanks of this Aſſembly, to the Reverend Doctor EZRA STILES, for his Sermon delivered before the Aſſembly, on the 8th Inſtant: and deſire a Copy thereof, that it may be printed.

A true Copy of Record,

Examined by

GEORGE WYLLYS, Sec'ry.

DR. *STILES*'s ELECTION SERMON.

DEUT. XXVI. 19.

AND TO MAKE THEE HIGH ABOVE ALL NATIONS, WHICH HE HATH MADE IN PRAISE, AND IN NAME, AND IN HONOUR; AND THAT THOU MAYEST BE AN HOLY PEOPLE UNTO THE *LORD* THY *GOD*.

TAUGHT by the omniſcient Deity, *Moſes* foreſaw and predicted the capital events relative to *Iſrael*, through the ſucceſſive changes of depreſſion and glory, until their final elevation to the firſt dignity and eminence among the empires of the world. Theſe events have been ſo ordered as to become a diſplay of *retribution* and *ſovereignty*; for while the *good* and *evil*, hitherto felt by this people, have been diſpenſed in the way of exact national retribution, their ultimate glory and honour will be of the divine ſovereignty, with a

not for your ſakes, do I this, ſaith the LORD, *be it known unto you—but for mine holy name's ſake.*

HOWEVER it may be doubted, whether political Communities are rewarded and puniſhed in this world only; and whether the proſperity and decline of other Empires have correſponded with their moral ſtate, as to virtue and vice: Yet the hiſtory of the Hebrew theocracy ſhews, that the ſecular welfare of GOD's ancient people depended upon their virtue, their religion, their obſervance of that holy covenant, which *Iſrael* entered into with GOD, on the plains at the foot of *Nebo* on the other ſide *Jordan*. Here *Moſes*, the man of GOD, aſſembled three millions of people, the number of the *United States*, recapitulated and gave them a ſecond publication of the ſacred jural inſtitute, delivered thirty-eight years before, with the moſt awful ſolemnity at Mount *Sinai*. A Law dictated with ſovereign authority by the Moſt High to a people, a world, a univerſe, becomes of invincible force and obligation without any reference to the conſent of the governed:—It is obligatory for three reaſons, viz. its *original juſtice* and unerring equity, the *omnipotent Authority* by which

it is enforced, and the ſanctions of *rewards and puniſhments*. But in the caſe of *Iſrael*, he condeſcended to a mutual covenant; and by the hand of *Moſes* lead his people to avouch the LORD JEHOVAH to be their GOD, and in the moſt publick and explicit manner voluntarily to engage and covenant with GOD to keep and obey his Law. Thereupon this great prophet, whom GOD had raiſed up for ſo ſolemn a tranſaction, declared in the name of the LORD, that the Moſt High avouched, acknowledged and took them for a peculiar people to himſelf; promiſing to be their GOD and Protector, and upon their obedience, to make them proſperous and happy. *Deut.* xxix. 10 and 14. Chap. xxx. 9 and 19. He foreſaw indeed their rejection of GOD, and predicted the judicial chaſtiſement of apoſtacy; a chaſtiſement involving the righteous with the wicked. But as well to comfort and ſupport the righteous in every age, and under every calamity, as to make his power known among all nations, GOD determined that a remnant ſhould be ſaved. Whence *Moſes* and the Prophets, by divine direction interſperſed their writings with promiſes, that, when the ends of GOD's moral government ſhould be an-

ſwered in a ſeries of national puniſhments, inflicted for a ſucceſſion of ages, he would by his irreſiſtible power and ſovereign grace, ſubdue the hearts of his people to a free, willing, joyful obedience; *turn* their *captivity*;—recover and *gather* them *from all the nations whither the* LORD *had ſcattered them in his fierce anger—bring* them *into the land which their fathers poſſeſſed— and multiply* them *above* their *fathers—and rejoice over* them *for good, as he rejoiced over* their fathers. *Deut.* XXX. 3. Then the words of *Moſes*, hitherto accompliſhed but in part, will be literally fulfilled; when this branch of the poſterity of *Abraham* ſhall be nationally collected, and become a very diſtinguiſhed and glorious people, under the Great MESSIAH the Prince of Peace. He will then *make* them *high above all nations which he hath made in praiſe, and in name, and in honour*, and they ſhall become *a holy people unto the* LORD their GOD.

I SHALL enlarge no further upon the primary ſenſe and literal accompliſhments of this and numerous other prophecies reſpecting both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in the latter day glory of the church. For I have aſſumed the text, only as introductory to

a diſcourſe upon the political welfare of GOD's American *Iſrael*; and as alluſively prophetick of the future proſperity and ſplendour of the *United States*. We may then conſider,

I. WHAT reaſon we have to expect that, by the bleſſing of GOD, theſe States may proſper and flouriſh into a great American Republick; and aſcend into high and and diſtinguiſhed honour among the nations of the earth. *To make thee high above all nations, which he hath made, in praiſe, and in name, and in honour.*

II. THAT our ſyſtem of dominion and CIVIL POLITY would be imperfect, without the true RELIGION; or, that from the diffuſion of virtue among the people of any community, would riſe their greateſt ſecular happineſs; which will terminate in this concluſion, that Holineſs ought to be the end of all civil government. *That thou mayeſt be an holy people unto the* LORD *thy* GOD.

I. THE firſt of theſe propoſitions will divide itſelf into two branches, and lead us to ſhew,

I. WHEREIN conſiſts the true political welfare and proſperity, and what the civil adminiſtration neceſſary for the eleva-

tion and advancement, of a people to the higheſt ſecular glory.

2. THE reaſons rendering it probable that the *United States* will, by the ordering of heaven, eventually become this people. But I ſhall combine theſe together as I go along.

DOMINION is founded in property; and reſides where that is, whether in the hands of the few or many. The Dominion founded in the feudal tenure of eſtate, is ſuited to hold a conquered country in ſubjection, but is not adapted to the circumſtances of free citizens. Large territorial property veſted in individuals is pernicious to ſociety. Civilians, in contemplating the principles of government, have judged ſuperiour and inferiour partition of property neceſſary in order to preſerve the ſubordination of ſociety, and eſtabliſh a permanent ſyſtem of dominion. This makes the publick defence the intereſt of a few landholders only.

A FREE tenure of lands, an equable diſtribution of property, enters into the foundation of a happy State: So far I mean, as that the body of the people may have it in their power, by induſtry, to become poſſeſſed of real freehold fee ſimple eſtate.

For connected with this will be a general ſpirit and principle of ſelf-defence—defence of our *property*, *liberty*, *country*. This has been ſingularly verified in *New-England*; where we have realized the capital ideas of *Harrington's* Oceana.

BUT numerous *population*, as well as *induſtry*, is neceſſary towards giving value to land, to judiciouſly partitioned territory. The publick weal requires the encouragement of both. A very inconſiderable value aroſe from the ſpare thin ſettlement of the *American* aboriginals; of whom there are not fifty thouſand ſouls on this ſide the *Miſſiſippi*. The proteſtant *Europeans* have generally bought the native right of ſoil, as far as they have ſettled, and paid the value ten fold; and are daily increaſing the value of the remaining *Indian* territory a thouſand fold: And in this manner we are a conſtant increaſing revenue to the Sachems and original Lords of the Soil. How much muſt the value of lands, reſerved to the natives of *North* and *South America*, be increaſed to remaining Indians, by the inhabitation of two or three hundred millions of Europeans?

HEAVEN hath provided this country, not indeed *derelict*, but only *partially ſet-*

tled, and conſequently open, for the reception of a new enlargement of *Japhet*. *Europe* was ſettled by *Japhet*; *America* is ſettling from *Europe*: And perhaps this ſecond enlargement bids fair to ſurpaſs the firſt: For we are to conſider all the European ſettlements of *America* collectively as ſpringing from, and transfuſed with the blood of *Japhet*. Already for ages has *Europe* arrived to a plenary, if not declining population of an hundred millions: In two or three hundred years this ſecond enlargment may cover *America* with three times that number, if the preſent ratio of increaſe continues with the enterpriſing ſpirit of Americans for colonization and removing out into the wilderneſs and ſettling new countries: And if *Spain* and *Portugal* ſhould adopt that wiſe regulation reſpecting the connexion of the ſexes, which would give a ſpring to population within the tropicks, equal to that without. There may now be *three or four millions of Whites*, or Europeans, in *North* and *South America*: Of which one half are in rapid increaſe, and the reſt ſcarcely keeping their number good without ſupplies from the parent ſtates. The number of French, Spaniards, Dutch and Portugueſe, may be

one million ſouls in all *America*; and they have transfuſed their blood into a great number of Indians. The *United States* may be two million ſouls, Whites, which have been an increaſe upon perhaps fewer than twenty or thirty thouſand families from *Europe*. Can we contemplate their preſent, and anticipate their future increaſe, and not be ſtruck with aſtoniſhment to find ourſelves in the midſt of the fulfilment of the prophecy of *Noah*? May we not ſee that we are the object which the HolyGhoſt had in view four thouſand years ago, when he inſpired the venerable Patriarch with the viſions reſpecting his poſterity? How wonderful the accompliſhments in diſtant and diſconnected ages! While the principal increaſe was firſt in *Europe*, weſtward from *Scythia*, the reſidence of the family of *Japhet*, a branch of the original enlargement extending eaſtward into *Aſia*, and ſpreading round to the ſouthward of the *Caſpian*, became the ancient kingdoms of *Media* and *Perſia** : And thus he dwelt in the tents of *Shem*. Hence the ſingular and almoſt identical affinity between the *Perſick* and *Teutonick* languages through all ages to this day.

* Joſ. ant. lib. 1. c. 6.

And now the other part of the prophecy is fulfiling in a new enlargement, not in the tents of *Shem*, but in a country where *Canaan ſhall be his ſervant*, at leaſt unto tribute.

I RATHER conſider the American *Indians* as *Canaanites* of the expulſion of *Joſhua*: Some of which in Phœnician ſhips coaſted the *Mediterranean* to its mouth, as appears from an inſcription which they left there. *Procopius* who was born in *Paleſtine*, a maſter of the Phœnician and other oriental languages, and the hiſtoriographer of the great *Beliſarius*, tells us, that at *Tangier* he ſaw and read an inſcription upon two marble pillars there, in the *ancient* Phœnician (not the then modern Punick) letter, "*We are they who have fled from the face of* Joſhua *the robber, the ſon of* Nun."* *Bochart* and *Selden* conjecture the very Punick itſelf. *Plato*, *Ælian*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, narrate voyages into the Atlantick ocean thirty days weſt from the pillars of *Hercules*, to the iſland of *Atlas*. This inſcription examined by *Procopius*,

* Ibi ex albis lapidibus conſtant COLUMNÆ DUÆ prope magnum fontem erectæ, Phœnicios habentes characteres inſculptos qui Phœcicum lingua ſic ſonant: NOS II SUMUS QUI FUGERUNT A FACIE JOSHUÆ PRÆDONIS FILII NAUE.— Evagr. hiſt. ecc. l. 4. c. 18. Procop. Vandalic. l. 2.

ſuggeſts, that the Canaanites, in coaſting along from *Tangier*, might ſoon get into the trade winds and be undeſignedly waſted acroſs the Atlantick land in the tropical regions, and commence the ſettlements of *Mexico* and *Peru*. Another branch of the Canaanitiſh expulſions might take the reſolution of the ten tribes, and travel north-eaſtward to where never man dwelt, become the *Tchuſchi* and *Tunguſi* Tartars about *Kamſchatka* and *Tſcukotſkoinoſs* in the north-eaſt of *Aſia*: Thence, by water, paſſing over from iſland to iſland through the northern Archipelago to *America*, became the ſcattered Sachemdoms of theſe northern regions. It is now known that *Aſia* is ſeparated by water from *America*, as certainly appears from the Baron *Dulfeldt's* voyage round the north of *Europe* into the Pacifick Ocean, A. D. 1769. Amidſt all the variety of national dialects, there reigns a ſimilitude in their language, as there is alſo in complexion and beardleſs features, from *Greenland* to *Del Fuego*, and from the *Antilles* to *Otaheite*, which ſhew them to be one people.

A FEW ſcattered accounts, collected and combined together, may lead us to two certain concluſions, 1. That all the Ame-

rican Indians are one kind of people. 2. That they are the ſame as the people in the north-eaſt of *Aſia*.

AN Aſiatick territory, 3000 miles long and 1500 wide, above the 40th degree of latitude, to the Hyperborean Ocean, contains only one million of ſouls ſettled as our Indians; as appears from the numerations and eſtimates collected by M. *Muller*, and other Ruſſian Academicians in 1769. The *Koreki*, *Jakuhti* and *Tunguſii* living on the eaſtern part of this territory next to *America*, are naturally *almoſt beardleſs*, like the *Samoieds* in *Siberia*, the *Oſtiacks* and *Calmuks*, as well as the *American Indians*: All theſe having alſo the ſame cuſtom of plucking out the few hairs of very thin beards. They have more ſimilar uſages and fewer diſſimilar ones, than the Arabians of the Koreiſh tribe and Jews who ſprang from *Abraham*: Or than thoſe that ſubſiſt among the European nations, who ſprang from one anceſtor; or theſe Aſiatick nations, which ſprang from *Shem*. The portrait painter, Mr. *Smibert*, who accompanied Dr. *Berkeley*, then Dean of *Derry*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Cloyne*, from *Italy* to *America* in 1728, was employed by the grand Duke

of *Tuſcany*, while at *Florence*, to paint two or three Siberian Tartars, preſented to the Duke by the Czar of *Ruſſia*. This Mr. *Smibert*, upon his landing at *Narraganſet-bay* with Dr. *Berkeley*, inſtantly recognized the Indians here to be the ſame people as the Siberian Tartars whoſe pictures he had taken. Moravian Indians from *Greenland* and *South America*, have met thoſe in our latitude at *Bethlehem*, and have been clearly perceived to be the ſame people. The Kamſchatdale Tartars have been carried over from *Aſia* to *America*, and compared with our Indians, and found to be the ſame people. Theſe Aſiatick Tartars, from whom the American aboriginals derived, are diſtinct from, and far leſs numerous, than the Mongul and other Tartars which, for ages, under *Tamerlane* and other chieftans, have deluged and over-ran the ſouthern ancient Aſiatick empires. Attending to the rational and juſt deductions, from theſe and other diſconnected data combined together, we may perceive, that all the Americans are one people—that they came hither *certainly* from the north-eaſt of *Aſia*; *probably* alſo from the *Mediterranean*; and if ſo, that they may be Canaanites, though ar-

riving hither by different routs. The ocean current from the north of *Asia* might waft the beardless *Samoieds* or *Tchuschi* from the mouth of *Jeneseа* or the *Oby*, around *Nova-Zembla* to *Greenland*, and thence to *Labrador*, many ages after the refugees from *Joshua* might have colonized the tropical regions. Thus Providence might have ordered three divisions of the *same people* from different parts of the world, and perhaps in very distant ages, to meet together on this continent, or, "*our Island*," as the Six Nations call it, to settle different parts of it, many ages before the present accession of *Japhet*, or the former visitation of *Madock*, 1001, or the certain colonization from *Norway*, A. D. 1001, as well as the certain christianizing of *Greenland* in the ninth century; not to mention the visit of still greater antiquity by the Phœnicians, who charged the *Dighton* rock and other rocks in *Narraganset-bay* with *Punick* inscriptions, remaining to this day. Which last I myself have repeatedly seen and taken off at large, as did Professor *Sewall*. He has lately transmitted a copy of this inscription to M. *Gebelin* of the *Parisian* academy of sciences, who comparing them with

the Punick paleography, judges them *Punick*, and has interpreted them as denoting, that the ancient Carthaginians once visited these distant regions.

INDIANS are numerous in the tropical regions, not so elsewhere. Baron la *Hontan* the last century, and Mr. *Carver* so lately as 1776 and 1777, travelled north-west beyond the sources of the *Missisippi*. From their observations it appears that the ratio of Indian population in the very heart of the Continent, is similar to that on this side of the *Missisippi*. By an accurate numeration made in 1766, and returned into the Plantation-office in *London*, it appeared, that there was not *forty* thousand souls, Indians, from the *Missisippi* to the *Atlantick*, and from *Florida* to the Pole. According to Mr. *Carver*, there are about thirty*, and certainly not forty Indian tribes, west of the Senecas, and Six Nation confederacy, and from the *Missisippi* and *Ohio* northward to *Hudson's* bay, and from *Niagara* to the Lake of the Woods. The Chiefs of all these speak the *Chipeway* language. And perhaps all the remaining territory north of *New Spain*, and even on this side the northern tropick,

* Carver's Trav. p. 415.

and north-weſtward to *Aſia*, will not exhibit five times that number at higheſt.

PARTLY by actual numeration, and partly by eſtimate, the Indians in the *Spaniſh* dominions in *America* are conſidered as a million ſouls in *New Spain*, and a million and half in *Peru*, or two or three million ſouls in the whole. And perhaps this would fully comprehend thoſe of *Paraguay* and the Portugueſe provinces. In my opinion, great defalcation muſt be made from theſe numbers. The aboriginals have been injudiciouſly eſtimated at twenty millions: But I believe they never exceeded two or three million ſouls in all *North* and *South America* ſince the days of *Columbus*.

THE European population ſo ſurpaſſes them already, that of whatever origin, they will eventually be, as the moſt of them have already become, *ſervants unto Japhet*—ſix hundred and twelve thouſand Indians pay tribute in *Peru*. We are increaſing with great rapidity; and the *Indians*, as well as the million *Africans* in *America*, are decreaſing *as rapidly*. Both left to themſelves, in this way diminiſhing, may gradually vaniſh: And thus an unrighteous SLAVERY may at length, in

GOD's good providence, be aboliſhed and ceaſe in this land of LIBERTY.

BUT to return; the population of this land will probably become very great; and *Japhet* become more numerous millions in *America*, than in *Europe* and *Aſia*; and the two or three millions of the *United States* may equal the population of the oriental empires, which far ſurpaſſes that of *Europe*. There are reaſons for believing that the *Engliſh increaſe*, will far ſurpaſs others; and that the diffuſion of the *United States* will ultimately produce the general population of *America*. The northern provinces of *China* ſpread for ages, and at length deluged the ſouthern with a very numerous and accumulated population. *Prov.* xiv. 28. *In the multitude of people, is the king's honour.*

BUT a multitude of people, even the two hundred millions* of the Chineſe empire,

* To elucidate the Chineſe population, it may be conſidered, that "in the reign of KANG-HI who died A. D. 1722, there were found 11,052,872 families, and 59,788,364 men able to bear arms," excluſive of a million of Bonzas, and an 100,000 mandarins and literati, the army of near a million, and young people under twenty years of age, and the multitudes living on the water. So the total of men in the empire above ſixty millions, implying 250 millions of ſouls. Tribute is paid by all the males between ætat. 20 and 60: The poll tax revenue is fifty millions ſterling; fifty-eight millions once paid this tribute. Europeans conſider this the number of ſouls and not of adult males. All the brothers and ſiſters, while they live, conſtitute

cannot ſubſiſt without CIVIL GOVERNMENT. All the forms of civil polity have been tried by mankind, except one: And that ſeems to have been reſerved in Providence to be realized in *America*. Moſt of the ſtates of all ages, in their originals, both as to *policy* and *property* have been founded in rapacity, uſurpation and injuſtice: So that in the conteſts recorded in hiſtory, the *publick right* is a dubious queſtion; it being rather certain that it belongs to neither of the contending parties: The military hiſtory of all nations, being but a deſcription of the wars and invaſi-

one family, according to the cuſtom in *China*, whether the anceſtor be living or dead. So the 11 millions of families would be equal to 50 or 60 million of European families.

IN the time * of *Ching-tſong* A. D. 1014, "the number employed in agriculture was found to be 21,976,965 able perſons, excluſive of the mandarins and literati, the eunuchs, the ſoldiers, the bonzas, and thoſe who live in barks and floating cities on the rivers, of whom the number is incredible." Hence above half the people are employed in manufactures, the mechanick arts, the literary, military and official departments. Now 21 millions farmers imply 80 or 90 million of ſouls; evincing that the 59 millions of 1722 are not to be conſidered as the number of ſouls but of adult males, or taxables. *Hatton* in his geography eſtimates the total of the ſouls 24 millions. Very different are the eſtimates. There is an intricacy and want of elucidation in theſe Chineſe numerations. I rather conſider the total of the empire 250 millions of ſouls. Among other reaſons, the number of principal mandarins, army and literati correſpond to an higher population than 60 million ſouls, which is the general eſtimate. But this matter may be eaſily aſcertained, for no nations on earth keep ſo accurate a cenſus and numeration of all claſſes as the Chineſe and Japoneſe.

* Du Halde, V. p. 209.

ons of the mutual robbers and devaſta-tors of the human race. The invaſion of the lawleſs Macedonian who effected the diſſolution of the *medo-Perſian* empire, the wide ſpread *Roman conqueſts*, the inunda-tion of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the deſcents of the *Tartars* on *China*, the triumphs of *Tamerlane*, *Ulugh-beg*, and *Aurengzebe*, and the wide ſpread domination of the impoſ-tor of *Mecca*, with his ſucceſſours the *Ga-liphs* and *Mamelukes* down to *Koudi-Kan*, who dethroned his prince and plundered India of 200 millions ſterling :—Theſe, I ſay, with the new diſtribution of pro-perty and new erected policies, were all founded in unrighteouſneſs, and tyran-nical uſurpation. The real intereſt of mankind and the publick good has been generally overlooked. It has really been very indifferent to the great cauſe of RIGHT and LIBERTY, which of the belligerent pow-ers prevailed, a *Tangrolipix* or a *Mahomet*, an *Auguſtus* or an *Anthony*, a *Scipio* or an *Hannibal*, a *Brennus* or an *Antiochus*—ty-ranny being the ſure portion of the ple-beians, be the victory as it ſhould hap-pen. Theſe things have led ſome very enlightened as well as ſerious minds to a fixed concluſion and judgment againſt the

right and legality of all wars. In the ſimplicity of my judgment, I have for years been of this opinion, except as to the *offenſive* wars of *Iſrael*, and *defenſive* war of *America*. War in ſome inſtances, eſpecially defenſive, has been authorized by heaven. The bleſſing given by *Melchiſedeck* to *Abraham*, upon his return from the ſlaughter of *Chelderlaomer* and the kings of the eaſt, juſtified that holy patriarch. The war with *Amelek*, and the extirpation of the *Canaanites* by *Joſhua*, were of GOD. The location of the reſpective territories to the firſt nations, was ſo of GOD, as to give them a divine right defenſively to reſiſt the *Nimrods* and *Ninus's*, the firſt invading tyrants of the ancient ages. The originally free and glorious republicks of *Greece*, had a right from GOD, to withſtand the haughty claims of the Aſſyrian empire, which they ſucceſsfully reſiſted for ages, until the Roman power aroſe behind them, and at length proſtrated their liberties.

BUT after the ſpirit of conqueſt had changed the firſt governments, all the ſucceeding ones have, in general, proved one continued ſeries of injuſtice, which has reigned in all countries for almoſt 4000

years. Theſe have ſo changed property, laws, rights and liberties, that it has become impoſſible for the moſt ſagacious *civilians* to decide whoſe is the abſtract political right in national controverſies—rather we know that none of them have any right. All original right is confounded and loſt. We can only ſay that there ſtill remains in the body of the people at large, the body of mankind of any and every generation, a POWER with which they are inveſted by the author of their being, to wreſt government out of the hands of reigning tyrants, and originate NEW POLICIES, adapted to the converſation of liberty, and promoting the publick welfare. But what is the happieſt form of civil government, is the great queſtion. Almoſt all the *polities* may be reduced to *hereditary* dominion in either a *Monarchy* or *Ariſtocracy*, and theſe ſupported by a ſtanding army. The *Roman* and *Venetian* ſenates were but an hereditary Ariſtocracy with an elective head. The ſenatorial ſucceſſion is preſerved independent of the people. True liberty is preſerved in the Belgick and Helvetick republicks, and among the nobles in the elective monarchy of *Poland*. For the reſt of the world, the civil dominion,

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though often wisely administered, is so modelled as to be beyond the control of those, for whose end GOD instituted government. But a DEMOCRATICAL polity for millions, standing upon the broad basis of the people at large, amply charged with property, has not hitherto been exhibited.

REPUBLICKS are *democratical*, *aristocratical*, or *monarchical*. Each of these forms admit of modifications, both as to *hereditation* and *powers*, from absolute government up to perfect liberty. Monarchy might be so limited, one would think, as to be a happy form, especially if *elective*: But both monarchy and aristocracy, when they become hereditary, terminate in the prostration of liberty. The greater part of the governments on earth may be termed *monarchical aristocracies*, or hereditary dominions, independent of the people. The nobles and nabobs being hereditary, will at first have great power; but the *royal factions* have not failed to intrigue this away from the nobles to the Prince: The assembly of even hereditary nobles, then become cyphers and nullities in dominion. The once glorious *Cortes* of Spain experienced this loss of power. It is next to an impossibility to tame a

monarch, and few have ruled without ferocity. Scarcely ſhall we find, in royal dynaſties, in a long line of Princes, a few ſingularly good Sovereigns, a few *Cyrus's*, *Antonini*, *Alfreds*, *Boroibmes*. Indeed, if we look over the preſent ſovereigns of *Europe*, we behold, with pleaſure, two young Princes, the EMPEROUR, and the MONARCH of *France*, who ſeem to be raiſed up in Providence to make their people and mankind happy. A *Ganganelli* in the pontifical throne was a Phœnix of ages, ſhone for his moment, and ſcarcely to be found again in the catalogue of a *Platina* :—We ſee enterpriſing, literary, and heroick talents in a *Frederick* III. and wiſdom in a *Poniatowſki*. I add no more, but when we contemplate the other European and Aſiatick potentates, and eſpecially the ſovereigns of *Dehli*, *Iſpahaun*, and *Conſtantinople*, one cannot but pity mankind, whoſe lot is to be governed by —deſpots of ſmall abilities, immerſed and rioting in the ſplendour of a luxurious effeminacy. Nor could government proceed, were not the errours and deſultory blunders of royalty frequently corrected by the circumſpection of a COLAO, a few ſenſible characters venerable for wiſdom, called up

among the ſtated Counſellors of Majeſty. Lord *Bacon* ſaid, that monarchy had a platform in nature; and in truth monarchical ideas reign through the univerſe. A monarchy conducted with *infinite wiſdom*, and *infinite benevolence*, is the moſt perfect of all poſſible governments. The MOST HIGH hath delegated power and authority to ſubordinate monarchies or ſole-ruling powers, in limited diſtricts, throughout the celeſtial hierarchy, and through the immenſity of the intellectual world; but at the ſame time he hath delegated and imparted to them, wiſdom and goodneſs adequate to the purpoſes of dominion: And thence the government is, as it ought to be, abſolute. But in a world, or region of the univerſe, where GOD has imparted to none either this ſuperiour power or adequate wiſdom, beyond what falls to the common ſhare of humanity, it is abſurd to look for ſuch qualities in one man; not even in the man *Moſes*, who ſhared the government of *Iſrael* with the Senate of Seventy. Therefore, there is no foundation for monarchical government, from ſuppoſed hereditary ſuperiority in knowledge. If it be ſaid, that monarchs always have a *council of ſtate*, conſiſting of the wiſeſt per-

ſonages, of whoſe wiſdom they avail themſelves in the government of empires: Not to obſerve, that this is a conceſſion indicating a deficiency of knowledge in Princes, it may be aſked, why not then, conſign and repoſe government into the hands of the national council, where always reſides the ſuperiority of wiſdom? The ſuppoſed advantage of having *one Publick Head* for all to look up to, and to concentre the attention, obedience, and affection of ſubjects, and to conſolidate the empire, will not counter-balance the evils of arbitrary deſpotiſm, and the uſual want of wiſdom in the ſovereigns and potentates of the earth. For the hereditary ſucceſſions in the dynaſties of kings in the effeminate families of the great, ſeem to be marked and accurſed by Providence, with deficient wiſdom. And where is the wiſdom of conſigning government into ſuch hands? Why not much better, ſince we for once have our option or choice, to commit the direction of the republick to a *Wittena-gemot*, or an ariſtocratical council of wiſe men? Should we call forth and dignify ſome family, either from foreign nations, or from among ourſelves, and create a monarch, whether an hereditary Prince, or

Protector for life, and ſeat him in Supremacy at the head of Congreſs; ſoon, with inſidious dexterity, would he intrigue and ſecure a venal majority, even of new and annual members; and by diffuſing a complicated and variouſly modified influence, purſue an accretion of power until he became abſolute.

THE celebrated hiſtorian Mrs. CATHARINE MACAULAY, that ornament of the republick of letters, and the female LIVY of the age, obſerves, "The man who holds ſupreme power for life, will have a great number of friends and adherents, who are attached by intereſt to his intereſt, and who will wiſh for continuance of power in the ſame family. This creates the worſt of factions, a *government faction* in the ſtate. The deſire of ſecuring to ourſelves a particular unſhared privilege, is the rankeſt vice which infeſts humanity; and a Protector for life, inſtead of devoting his time and underſtanding to the great cares of government, will be ſcheming and plotting to ſecure the power after his death to his children, if he has any, if not to the neareſt of his kin. This principle in government has been productive of ſuch bloodſhed and oppreſſion, that it has inclined

politicians to give the preference to hereditary rather than elective monarchies; and, as the leſſer evil, to conſign the government of ſociety to the encreaſing and at length unlimited ſway of one family, whether the individuals of it ſhould be idiots or madmen. It is an uncontroverted fact, that ſupreme power never can continue long in one family, without becoming unlimited." *

WE ſtand a better chance with ARISTOCRACY, whether *hereditary* or *elective*, than with *Monarchy*. An unſyſtematical democracy, and an abſolute monarchy, are equally deſtable, equally a *Magormiſſabib*, the terrour to all around them. An elective ariſtocracy is preferable for *America*, as it is rather to be a *council of nations* (agreeable to the humane, liberal, and grand ideas of *Henry* IV. and the patriot *Sully*) than a body in which reſides *authoritative ſovereignty*; for there is no real ceſſion of dominion, no ſurrendery or transfer of ſovereignty, to the national council, as each ſtate in the confederacy is an independent ſovereignty.

IN juſtice to human ſociety, it may perhaps be ſaid of almoſt all Polities and civil

* Mrs. MACAULAY's letter to the author, 1784.

Inſtitutions in the world, however imperfect, that they have been founded in, and carried on with very conſiderable wiſdom. They muſt have been generally well adminiſtered; I ſay *generally*, otherwiſe government could not proceed. This may be ſaid even of thoſe governments, which carry great defects, and the ſeeds of ſelf-deſtruction and ruin in their conſtitution —for even an *Ottoman*, or an *Aurengzebe*, muſt eſtabliſh and preſcribe to himſelf a national conſtitution, a ſyſtem of general laws and dominion. But the abſtract Rationale of perfect civil government, remains ſtill hidden among the conſiderata of politicks, having hitherto baffled the inveſtigation of the beſt writers on Government, the ableſt politicians, and the ſageſt Civilians. A well ordered DEMOCRATICAL ARISTOCRACY, ſtanding upon the annual elections of the people, and revocable at pleaſure, is the polity which combines the UNITED STATES: and from the nature of man, and the compariſon of ages, I believe it will approve itſelf the moſt equitable, liberal, and perfect.

WITH the people, eſpecially a people ſeized of property, reſides the aggregate of original power. They cannot howev-

er aſſemble from the territory of an empire, and muſt therefore, if they have any ſhare in government, repreſent themſelves by delegation. This conſtitutes one order in legiſlature and ſovereignty. It is a queſtion whether there ſhould be any other. To reſolve which it may be conſidered, that each of theſe delegates or repreſentatives, will be faithful conſervators of local intereſts, but have no intereſt in attending extenſively to the Publick, further than where all particular local intereſts are affected in common with that which one delegate repreſents in particular.

IT ſhould ſeem then that the nature of ſociety dictates another, a higher Branch, whoſe ſuperiority ariſes from its being the intereſted and natural *Conſervator of the univerſal intereſt*. This will be a ſenatorial Order, ſtanding not on local, but a general election of the whole body of the people. Let a bill, or law, be read in the one branch or the other; every one inſtantly thinks how it will affect his conſtituents. If his conſtituents are thoſe of one ſmall diſtrict only, they will be his firſt care; if the people at large, their general or univerſal intereſt will be his firſt care, the firſt object of his faithful attention.

If a ſenator, as in *Delaware*, ſtands on the election of only the ſame diſtrict as a deputy, the upper-houſe is only a repetition of the lower:—if on the election of ſeveral counties combined, as in *Virginia*, each member of the upper-houſe ſtands and feels himſelf charged with a greater and more extenſive care, than a member of the houſe of burgeſſes: not but that it is the duty of each deputy to attend to the general intereſt. *Georgia*, *Pennſylvania*, and *Jerſey*, have each a ſenate or legiſlature of one order only; for although in *Jerſey* it ſeemeth otherwiſe, yet that intereſt which will determine a vote in one, will determine it in both houſes. The ſame is true of the two *Carolinas*.

THE conſtitutions of *Maryland* and *New-York*, are founded in higher wiſdom. The polity of *Maſſachuſetts* is excellent and truly grand. It retains indeed ſome of the ſhadows of royalty, which may give dignity, but never can operate an eſſential miſchief, in the hands of a chief magiſtrate, who is annually elective by the people at large. But *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Iſland* have originally realized the moſt perfect polity as to a legiſlature:

any emendations and improvements may be made by the aſſembly with reſpect to the eſtabliſhment of the law courts, and a conſtitutional privy council, which in all future time will be neceſſary to attend the chief magiſtrate in the ordinary civil adminiſtration. Theſe things are remedied in *Virginia*, whoſe conſtitution ſeems to be imperfect in but one thing—its twenty-four ſenators, though elected from local diſtricts, ſhould be elected by the people at large, being men of ſuch publick eminence, and of merit ſo illuſtrious, as to be known not to a few only, but to all the tribes throughout the ſtate. It eſtabliſhes judges *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*. It provides perfectly for *legiſlation* and *law courts*, for the *militia*, and for that continual adminiſtration of government in abſence of aſſemblies, and while the judiciary tribunals are ſitting, which muſt reſide in and be uninterruptedly exerciſed at the head of ſovereignty in every civil polity.

IT give me pleaſure to find, that publick LIBERTY is effectually ſecured, in each and all the policies of the *United States*, though ſomewhat differently modelled. Not only the polity or exteriour

ſyſtem of government, but the laws and interiour regulations of each ſtate, are already excellent, ſurpaſſing the inſtitutions of *Lycurgus* or *Plato*; and by the annual appeals to the publick, a power is reſerved to the people, to remedy any corruptions or errours in government. And if even the people ſhould ſometimes err, yet each aſſembly of the ſtates, and the body of the people, always emboſom wiſdom ſufficient to correct themſelves: ſo that a political miſchief cannot be durable. Herein we far ſurpaſs any ſtates on earth. We can correct ourſelves if in the wrong. The Belgick ſtates in their federal capacity, are united by a perfect ſyſtem, conſtituted by that great prince WILLIAM of *Naſſau*, and the compatriots of that age: but they left the interiour government of the jural tribunals, cities, and provinces, as deſpotick and arbitrary as they found them. So the elective monarchical republick of *Poland*, is an excellent conſtitution for the nobles, but leaves deſpotiſm and tyranny, the portion and hard fate of the plebeians, beyond what is to be found in any part of *Europe*. Not ſo the American ſtates: their interiour as well as exteriour civil and

jural polities are ſo nearly perfect, that the rights of individuals, even to numerous millions, are guarded and ſecured.

THE crown and glory of our confederacy is the *amphictyonick council* of the GENERAL CONGRESS, ſtanding on the annual election of the united reſpective ſtates, and revocable at pleaſure. This lays the foundation of a permanent union in the American Republick, which may at length convince the world, that of all the policies to be found on earth, not excepting the very excellent one of the Chineſe Empire, the moſt perfect one has been invented and realized in *America*.

IF in the multitude of devices for improving and carrying our policy to greater perfection, and a more permanent and efficacious government, if, I ſay, ſome elevated geniuſſes ſhould go into the ideas of monarchy, whether hereditary or elective; and others think of a partition of the *United States* into three or four ſeparate independent confederacies; perhaps upon diſcuſſing the ſubject calmly and thoroughly, and finding that the policy which will at laſt take place, muſt ſtand on *plebeian election*; they may at length be ſatisfied, that the die is already caſt,

and *the policy has taken its complexion for ages* to come. Thus the NINE BOWLS engraved with the map of dominion, eſtabliſhed the policy of the Chineſe empire for near twenty ages.* The ancient diviſion of the empire ſubſiſted by means of theſe ſymbols of dominion, which paſſed in ſucceſſion to the nine principal mandarins or ſupreme governours under the imperial ſovereignty; and this for the long tract from their firſt inſtitution by the Emperour YU, who reigned two thouſand two hundred years before CHRIST, to CHEY-LIE-VANG, who was cotemporary with the great philoſopher MENZIUS three hundred years before CHRIST. So that ſymbol of union, the American flag, with its increaſing Stripes and Stars, may have an equally combining efficacy for ages. The ſenatorial conſtitution and conſulate of the Roman empire laſted from *Tarquin* to *Cæſar*. The pregmatick ſanction has probably ſecured the imperial ſucceſſion in the houſe of *Auſtria* for ages. The Medo-perſian and Alexandrine empires, and that of *Tamerlane*, who reigned A. D. 1400, from *Smyrna* to the *Ganges*, were, for obvious reaſons, of ſhort and

* Du Halde Hiſt. China.

tranſitory duration: but that of the Aſſyrian endured without mutation, through a tract of one thouſand three hundred years, from *Semiramis* to *Sandanapalus*. Nor was the policy of Egypt overthrown for a longer period, from the days of *Mitzraim* until the time of *Cambyſes* and *Amaſis*. Whatever mutations may ariſe in the *United States*, perhaps hereditary *monarchy* and a *ſtanding army* will be the laſt.

BESIDES a happy policy as to civil government, it is neceſſary to inſtitute a ſyſtem of LAW and JURISPRUDENCE founded in *juſtice*, *equity* and *publick right*. The American *codes* of law and the *lex non ſcripta*, the *ſenatus conſulta* and the *common law*, are already advanced to great perfection —far leſs complicated and perplexed than the jural ſyſtems of *Europe*; where reigns a mixture of *Roman*, *Gothick*, *Teutonick*, *Salick*, *Saxon*, *Norman* and other local or municipal law, controlled or innovated and confuſed by ſubſequent royal edicts and imperial inſtitutions: ſuperinducing the ſame mutation, as did the imperatorial Decrees of the *Cæſars* upon the ancient *Jus civile* or Roman law. A depuration from all theſe will take place in

America, and our communication with all the world will enable us to bring home the moſt excellent principles of law and right, to be found in every kingdom and empire on earth. Theſe being adopted here, may advance our ſyſtems of juriſprudence to the higheſt purity and perfection:—eſpecially if hereafter ſome FLETA, BRACTON, COKE, ſome great law genius ſhould ariſe, and with vaſt erudition, and with the learned ſagacity of a *Trebonianus*, reduce and digeſt all into one great jural ſyſtem.

BUT the beſt laws will be of no validity, unleſs the tribunals be filled with JUDGES of *independent ſentiment*, vaſt *law knowledge*, and of an *integrity* beyond the poſſibility of corruption. Even a *Bacon* ſhould fall from his higheſt honours, the moment he taſtes the forbidden fruit. Such infamy and tremendous puniſhment ſhould be connected with TRIBUNAL BRIBERY, that a Judge ſhould be ſtruck into the horrour of an earthquake, at the very thoughts of corruption. The legiſlatures have the inſtitution and revocation of laws: and the Judges in their deciſions are to be ſacredly governed by the laws of the land. Moſt of the ſtates have

judged it neceſſary, in order to keep the ſupreme law courts uninfluenced and uncorrupted tribunals, that the Judges be honourably ſupported, and be fixed in office *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*.

BUT I paſs on to another ſubject in which the welfare of a community is deeply concerned, I mean the publick REVENUES. National character and national faith depend on theſe. Every people, every large community is able to furniſh a revenue adequate to the exigencies of government. But this is a moſt difficult ſubject; and what the happieſt method of raiſing it, is uncertain. One thing is certain, that however in moſt kingdoms and empires the people are taxed at the will of the prince, yet in *America* the people tax themſelves, and *therefore cannot tax themſelves beyond their abilities*. But whether the power of taxing be in an abſolute monarchy, a power independent of the people, or in a body elected by the people, one great errour has, I apprehend, entered into the ſyſtem of Revenue and Finance in almoſt all nations, viz. reſtricting the collection to money. Two or three millions can more eaſily be raiſed in produce, than one mil-

lion in money. This collected and depoſited in ſtores and magazines, would by bills drawn upon theſe ſtores, anſwer all the expenditures of war and peace. The little imperfect experiment lately made here, ſhould not diſcourage us. In one country it has been tried with ſucceſs for ages, I mean in *China*, the wiſeſt empire the ſun hath ever ſhined upon. And here, if I recollect aright, not a tenth of the Imperial revenues hath been collected in money. In rice, wheat and millet only are collected 40 millions of ſacks, of one hundred and twenty pounds each; equal to 80 million buſhels; in raw and wrought ſilk one million pounds. The reſt is taken in ſalt, wines, cotton, and other fruits of labour and induſtry at a certain ratio *per cent.* and depoſited in ſtores over all the empire. The periſhable commodities are immediately ſold, and the *Mandarins* and *Army* are paid by bills on theſe magazines. In no part of the world are the inhabitants leſs oppreſſed than there. England has eleven hundred millions property, real, perſonal and commercial, and five million ſouls. Their ordinary revenue has for many years been ten or twelve millions; and during this war the na-

tional expenditures have been annually twenty millions. A great part is raiſed by exciſe; by the land tax, not above a fifth or ſixth, although the annual rental of England is really ſixty millions. The funded debt has ariſen from 123 millions, A. D. 1775, to 230 millions in 1783, and can never be paid. It is unparalleled in the annals of empires, that ſix or ſeven millions of people ever diſcharged ſo heavy a burden. The Roman Imperial debt was once in the times of the *Cæſars* three hundred millions ſterling, when the empire conſiſted of thirty millions of people. One emperour at his acceſſion wiped out twenty millions, and the *Goths* and *Vandals* ſettled the reſt, to the ruin of thouſands. May GOD preſerve theſe States from being ſo involved. The preſent war being over, the future increaſe of population and property will in time enable us, with convenience, to diſcharge the heavy debt we have incurred in the defence of our rights and liberties. The *United States* have now two hundred and fifty millions of property, pretty equally ſhared by two or three millions of people. And our national debt* is not ten mill-

* Forty-two millions of dollars at the peace.

ion ſterling: which is to the whole collectively, as it would be for one man, poſſeſſing an eſtate of 250 *l.* in land and ſtock, to oblige himſelf to pay ten pounds. The intereſt only of the Britiſh national debt, upon ſix or ſeven million people, is above ten millions ſterling annually, that is, greater than the whole national debt of the *United States*, upon half that number. Our population will ſoon overſpread the vaſt territory from the *Atlantick* to the *Miſſiſippi*, which in two generations will become a property ſuperiour to that of *Britain*. Thus Poſterity may help to pay for the War, which we have been obliged to fight out for them in our day. It will not, however, be wiſe to conſign to poſterity ſo heavy a debt; leſt they ſhould be tempted to learn, like other nations, the practice of publick injuſtice, and broken national faith.

ANOTHER object of great attention in *America*, will be COMMERCE. In order to form ſome ideas reſpecting it, in the *United States*, we may take a ſummary view of it, while we were in connexion with *Britain*; and thence judge what it may be, after we ſhall have recovered from the ſhock of this war.

THE Britiſh merchants repreſented that they received ſome profit indeed from *Virginia* and *South-Carolina*, as well as the *Weſt-Indies*: but as for the reſt of this continent, they were conſtant looſers in trade. Mr. *Glover* has candidly diſcloſed the truth; and he and other writers enable us to form ſome ideas of the matter. It appears from an undecennary account laid before parliament in 1776, that the ſtate of commerce between England only and Engliſh *America*, for the eleven years preceding hoſtilities, was thus:

	Exports to the		Imports from the	
Cont. col.	26¾ mil. ſter.		13¾ mil. ſter.	
Weſt-Ind.	14¼	-	35¼	moſtly on acct. of the cont. col.
	41		49	

A commerce of 26 million exports, and only 13 million imports, is ſelf-annihilated and impoſſible. The returns from the *Weſt-Indies* comprehended a great part of the continental remittances. The American merchants, by a circuitous trade from this continent, and from *Africa*, remitted to *London* and Britain, by way of the *Weſt-Indies*, in bills of exchange drawn on ſugars, the balance of what they ſeem

to fall ſhort, in direct remittances on the cuſtom-houſe books.

THE whole American commerce, monopolized by *Great-Britain*, muſt be conſidered collectively; and was to England only in the above account 41 million exports, and 49 million imports. This inclusive of the 12 per cent. charged, amounted to a real annual profit of 32 per cent. to the Engliſh merchants in actual remittances of the year, beſides a ſtanding American debt, it is ſaid of three millions carrying intereſt. Well might the Britiſh merchants ſuſtain a loſs in American bankruptcies, probably at an average not five or ten thouſand a year, in ſo lucrative a trade. An Idea of the mercantile debt may be thus conceived. There is a diſtrict within the *United States*, upon which the ſtate of European trade, at the commencement of hoſtilities, was thus; being chiefly carried on by foreign factorages, a mode of commerce which the Britiſh merchants intended to have been univerſal. In the courſe of a ſyſtemati cal trade, had at length ariſen a Standing Debt of a million ſterling among about a quarter of a million of people: to feed this the Britiſh merchants ſent over one

quarter of a million ſterling annually; for which and collected debts, they received in actual remittance half a million ſterling within the ſame year, *i. e.* a quarter of a million returned half a million, and fed or kept up a debt of one million, paying to Britain an annual lawful intereſt; the ſecurity of all which complicated ſyſtem ſtood upon American mortgages. This is true mercantile ſecret hiſtory.

IF this ſpecimen applied to all the ſtates (and GOD be thanked it does not) it would ſhew, not only the greatneſs and momentous importance of our trade to *Europe*, but the neceſſity of legiſlative regulations in commerce, to invalidate future foreign mortgages, and yet ſupport credit by the enforcement of punctual, ſpeedy and certain payments, whether with profit or loſs. Without this no permanent commerce can be ſupported. I obſerved that the above ſpecimen may aſſiſt us. It is not neceſſary for every purpoſe, to come to great exactneſs in capital eſtimates. The total exteriour commerce of *Great-Britain* with all the world, is about twelve millions annually; of which five millions, or near half, was of American connexion, and four mill-

ions of this directly American, as Mr. *Glover* aſſerts; and the real profits of the American trade was become to Britain equal to nearly half the benefit of her total exteriour commerce to the whole world. The total of Britiſh exports to all the world, A. D. 1704, was only ſix millions and an half ſterling. The American Britiſh trade in its connexion, returns, and profits, nearly equalled this, A. D. 1774. We were then better to Britain, than all the world was to her 70 years before. Deſpiſed as our commerce was, it is evident, that had the union continued, our increaſing millions would ſoon have made remittances, for more than the fewer millions of Britain, could have manufactured for exportation. For the greater part of the manufactures of every country muſt be for domeſtick conſumption. A ſpecimen of this we have in the woollen manufacture. England grows eleven million fleeces a year, worth two million ſterling, manufactured into eight million; of which ſix million is of domeſtick conſumption, and two million only for exportation. When it is conſidered that a great part of this went to other countries, how weak muſt have

been the ſuppoſition that Britain clothed *America*; while *America*, from the beginning, in their own domeſtick manufactures, furniſhed nine-tenths of their apparel.

OUR trade opens to all the world. We ſhall doubtleſs at firſt overtrade ourſelves every where, and be in danger of incurring heavy mortgages unleſs prevented. The nations will not at firſt know how far they may ſafely trade with us. But commerce will find out its own ſyſtem, and regulate itſelf in time. It will be governed on the part of *America* by the cheapeſt foreign markets; on the part of *Europe* by our ability and punctuality of Remittance. We can ſoon make a remittance of three or four million a year in a circuitous trade, excluſive of the iniquitous African trade. If *Europe* ſhould indulge us beyond this, our failures and diſappointments might lay the foundation of national animoſities. Great wiſdom is therefore neceſſary to regulate the commerce of *America*. The caution with which we are to be treated, may occaſion and originate a commercial ſyſtem among the maritime nations, on both ſides of the Atlantick, founded in juſtice and re-

ciprocity of intereſt, which will eſtabliſh the *benevolence* as well as the *opulence* of nations, and advance the progreſs of Society to civil perfection.

IT is certainly for the benefit of every community that it be transfuſed with the efficacious motives of *univerſal induſtry*. This will take place if every one can enjoy the fruits of his labour and activity unmoleſted. All the variety of labour, in a well regulated ſtate, will be ſo ordered and encouraged as that all will be employed in a juſt proportion in agriculture, mechanick arts, commerce, and the literary profeſſions. It has been a queſtion whether *Agriculture* or *Commerce*, needs moſt encouragement in theſe ſtates? But the motives for both ſeem abundantly ſufficient. Never did they operate more ſtrongly than at preſent. The whole continent is activity, and in the lively vigorous exertion of induſtry. Several other things call for encouragement, as the planting of vineyards, and olive yards, and cotton walks; the raiſing of wool, planting mulberry trees, and the culture of ſilk; and I add, eſtabliſhing *Manufactories*. This laſt is neceſſary, very neceſſary, far more neceſſary indeed than is

thought by many deep politicians. Let us have all the means poſſible of ſubſiſtence and elegance among ourſelves, if we would be a flouriſhing republick of real independent dignity and glory.

ANOTHER thing tending to the publick welfare, is removing cauſes of political animoſities and civil diſſention, promoting harmony, and ſtrengthening the union among the ſeveral parts of this extended community. In the memorable *bellum ſociale* among the Romans, 300,000 of Roman blood, fought 700,000 brethren of the Italian blood: After a loſs of 60,000 in diſputing a trifling point of national honour, they pacificated the whole by an amneſty, and giving the city to the Italians.* We may find it a wiſe policy, a few years hence, under certain exceptions, to ſettle an *amneſty*, and circulate a brotherly affection among all the inhabitants of this glorious republick. We ſhould live henceforward in amity, as brothers inſpired with and cultivating a certain *national benevolence*, unitedly glorying in the name of a COLUMBIAN or AMERICAN, and in the diſtinguiſhed honour and aggrandiſement of our country. Like that ancient na-

* Vid. *Velleius Paterc.*

tional affection, which we once had for the parent ſtate, while we gloried in being a part of the Britiſh empire; and when our attachment and fidelity grew to an unexampled vigour and ſtrength. This appeared in the tender diſtreſs we felt, at the firſt thoughts of the diſſolution of this ancient friendſhip. We once thought Britain our friend, and gloried in her protection. But ſome demon * whiſpered folly into the preſent reign: And Britain forced upon *America*, the tremendous alternative of the *loſs of liberty* or the *laſt appeal*—either of which inſtantly alienated and diſſolved our affection—it was impoſſible to heſitate—and the affection is diſſolved, never, never more to be recovered: —Like that between *Syracuſe* and *Athens*, it is loſt forever. A political earthquake through the continent hath ſhook off *America* from *Great-Britain*. O! how painful and diſtreſſing the ſeparation and diſmemberment! Witneſs all ye patriotick breaſts, all ye lovers of your country, once lovers of *Great-Britain*; witneſs the tender ſenſations and heart-felt violence, the reluctant diſtreſs and ſorrow, with which ye were penetrated, when ſpurned

* *Bute.*

from a parent's love, ye felt the conviction of the dire neceſſity of an everlaſting parting, to meet no more, never to be united again!

OH *England!* how did I once love thee? how did I once glory in thee! how did I once boaſt of ſpringing from thy bowels, though at four deſcents ago, and the nineteenth from Sir *Adam* of *Knapton!* In the rapturous anticipation of thine enlargement and reflouriſhing in this weſtern world, how have I been wont to glory in the future honour of having thee for the head of the *Britannico-American* empire, for the many ages until the Millennium—when thy great national glory ſhould have been advanced in then becoming a member of the univerſal empire of the Prince of Peace. And if perchance, in ſome future period, danger ſhould have ariſen to thee from European ſtates, how have I flown on the wings of prophecy, with the numerous hardy hoſts of thine American ſons, inheriting thine ancient principles of *liberty* and *valour*, to reſcue and reinthrone the hoary venerable head of the moſt glorious empire on earth? But now farewell——a long farewell—to all this greatneſs! And yet even now me-

thinks, in ſuch an exigency, I could leap the *Atlantick*, not into thy boſom, but to reſcue an aged parent from deſtruction; and then return on the wings of triumph, to this aſylum of the world, and reſt in the boſom of liberty.

MOREOVER, as we have ſeen the wiſdom of our anceſtors in inſtituting a militia, ſo it is neceſſary to continue it. The Game Act, in the time of *James* I. inſidiouſly diſarmed the people of England. Let us not be inſidiouſly diſarmed. In all our enlargements of colonization, in all our increaſing millions, let the main body be exerciſed annually to military diſcipline, whether in war or peace. This will defend us againſt ourſelves, and againſt ſurrounding ſtates. Let this be known in *Europe*, in every future age, and we ſhall never again be invaded from the other ſide of the *Atlantick*. "The "militia of this country, ſays general "*Waſhington*, muſt be conſidered as the "palladium of our ſecurity, and the firſt "effectual reſort in caſe of hoſtility."

ANOTHER thing neceſſary, is a vigilance againſt corruption, in purchaſing elections, and in deſignations to offices in the Legiſlatures and Congreſs; inſtituting

ſuch efficacious proviſions againſt corruption, as ſhall preclude the poſſibility of its riſing to any great height, before it ſhall be controlled and corrected. Although in every political adminiſtration the appointment to offices will ever be conſiderably influenced by the ſiniſter, private, perſonal motives either of intereſt or friendſhip; yet the ſafety of the ſtate requires that this ſhould not go too far. An adminiſtration may indeed proceed tolerably, when the officers of a well arranged ſyſtem are in general ordinary characters, provided there is a pretty good ſprinkling of men of wiſdom interſperſed among them. How much more illuſtrious would it be, if three quarters of the offices of government were filled with men of ability, underſtanding, and patriotiſm? What an animation would it diffuſe through a community, if men of real merit in every branch of buſineſs, were ſure of receiving the rewards and honours of the ſtate? That great and wiſe monarch *Olam Fodhla*, the *Alfred* of *Ireland*, 1000 years before CHRIST, inſtituted an annual review and examination of all the atchievements and illuſtrious characters in the realm; and being ap-

proved by himſelf and the annual aſſembly of the nobles, he ordered their names and atchievements to be enrolled in a publick *regiſter of merit*. This continued 2000 years, to the time of that illuſtrious chieftan *Brien O'Boroihme*. This had an amazing effect. By this animation, the heroick, military and political virtues, with civilization, and I add, *Science* and *Literature*, aſcended to an almoſt unexampled and incredible perfection in Ireland, ages before they figured in other parts of *Europe*, not excepting even *Athens* and *Rome*. I have a very great opinion of Hibernian merit, literary, as well as civil and military, even in the ages before *St. Patrick*.

BUT to return:—The cultivation of LITERATURE will greatly promote the publick welfare. In every community, while proviſion is made, that all ſhould be taught to read the ſcriptures and the very uſeful parts of common education, a good proportion ſhould be carried through the higher branches of literature. Effectual meaſures ſhould be taken for preſerving and diffuſing knowledge among a people. The voluntary inſtitution of libraries in different vicini-

ties, will give thoſe, who have not a liberal education, an opportunity of gaining that knowledge, which will qualify them for uſefulneſs. *Travels*, *Biography*, and *Hiſtory*, the knowledge of the *Policies*, *Juriſprudence*, and ſcientifick improvements among all nations, ancient and modern, will form the civilian, the judge, the ſenator, the patrician, the man of uſeful eminence in ſociety. The colleges have been of ſingular advantage in the preſent day. When Britain withdrew all her wiſdom from *America*, this revolution found above two thouſand in *New-England* only, who had been educated in the colleges, intermixed among the people, and communicating knowledge among them. Almoſt all of them have approved themſelves uſeful; and there have been ſome characters among us of the firſt eminence for literature. It would be for the publick emolument ſhould there always be found a ſufficient number of men in the community at large of vaſt and profound erudition, and perfect acquaintance with the whole ſyſtem of publick affairs, to illuminate the publick councils, as well as to fill the three learned profeſſions with dignity and honour.

I HAVE thus ſhewn wherein conſiſts the true political welfare of a civil community or ſovereignty. The foundation is laid in a judicious diſtribution of property, and in a good ſyſtem of *polity* and *juriſprudence*; on which will ariſe, under a truly patriotick, upright, and firm adminiſtration, the beautiful ſuperſtructure of a well governed and proſperous empire.

ALREADY does the new conſtellation of the *United States* begin to realize this glory. It has already riſen to an acknowledged ſovereignty among the republicks and kingdoms of the world. And we have reaſon to hope, and I believe to expect, that GOD has ſtill greater bleſſings in ſtore, for this vine which his own right hand hath planted, to make us *high among the nations in praiſe, and in name, and in honour*. The reaſons are very numerous, weighty, and concluſive.

IN our civil conſtitutions, thoſe impediments are removed, which obſtruct the progreſs of ſociety towards perfection: Such, for inſtance, as reſpect the tenure of eſtates, and arbitrary government. The vaſſalage of dependent tenures, the tokens of ancient conqueſts by Goths and Tartars, ſtill remain all over *Aſia* and *Eu-*

rope. In this reſpect, as well as others, the world begins to open its eyes. One grand experiment in particular has lately been made. The preſent Empreſs of *Ruſſia*, by granting lands in freehold, in her vaſt wilderneſſes of *Volkouſkile*, together with religious liberty, has allured and already draughted from *Poland* and *Germany* a colonization of ſix hundred thouſand ſouls in ſix years only, from 1762, to 1768.*

LIBERTY, civil and religious, has ſweet and attractive charms. The enjoyment of this, with property, has filled the Engliſh ſettlers in *America* with a moſt amazing ſpirit, which has operated, and ſtill will operate with great energy. Never before has the experiment been ſo effectually tried, of every man's reaping the fruits of his labour, and feeling his ſhare in the aggregate ſyſtem of power. The ancient republicks did not ſtand on the people at large; and therefore no example or precedent can be taken from them. Even men of arbitrary principles will be obliged, if they would figure in theſe ſtates, to aſſume the patriot ſo long, that they will at length become charmed with the ſweets of liberty.

* *Marſhal's* Trav.

OUR degree of population is ſuch as to give us reaſon to expect that this will become a great people. It is probable that within a century from our independence the ſun will ſhine on fifty million of inhabitants in the *United States*. This will be a great, a very great nation, nearly equal to half *Europe*. Already has our colonization extended down the *Ohio* and to *Koſkaſeah* on the *Miſſiſippi*. And if the preſent ratio of increaſe ſhould be rather diminiſhed in ſome of the elder ſettlements, yet an accelerated multiplication will attend our general propagation, and overſpread the whole territory weſtward for ages. So that before the Millennium, the Engliſh ſettlements in *America*, may become more numerous millions, than that greateſt dominion on earth, the Chineſe empire. Should this prove a future fact, how applicable would be the text, when the LORD ſhall have made his American Iſrael, *high above all nations which he hath made*, in numbers, *and in praiſe, and in name, and in honour!*

I AM ſenſible ſome will conſider theſe as viſionary Utopian ideas. And ſo they would have judged, had they lived in the apoſtolick age, and been told, that by the

time of *Conſtantine* the empire would have become chriſtian. As viſionary that the twenty thouſand ſouls which firſt ſettled *New-England*, ſhould be multiplied to near a million in a century and a half. As viſionary that the Ottoman empire muſt fall by the Ruſſian. As viſionary to the Catholicks is the certain downfall of the Pontificate. As Utopian would it have been to the *loyaliſts*, at the battle of *Lexington*, that in leſs than eight years, the independence and ſovereignty of the *United States*, ſhould be acknowledged by four European ſovereignties, one of which ſhould be *Britain* herſelf. How wonderful the revolutions, the events of Providence! We live in an Age of Wonders: We have lived an age in a few years: We have ſeen more wonders accompliſhed in *eight* years, than are uſually unfolded in a century.

GOD be thanked, we have lived to ſee peace reſtored to this bleeding land, at leaſt a general ceſſation of hoſtilities among the belligerent powers. And, on this occaſion, does it not become us to reflect, how wonderful, how gracious, how glorious, has been the good hand of our GOD upon us, in carrying us through ſo tremendous a warfare! We have ſuſtained a force brought

againſt us, which might have made any empire on earth to tremble—and yet our bow has abode in ſtrength; and having obtained help of GOD, we continue unto this day. Forced unto the laſt *ſolemn appeal*, *America* watched for the firſt blood: this was ſhed by *Britons* on the 19th of April, 1775; which inſtantly ſprung an army of 20,000 into ſpontaneous exiſtence, with the enterprizing and daring reſolution of entering *Boſton*, and forcibly diſburdening it of its bloody legions. Every patriot trembled until we had proved our armour, until it could be ſeen, whether this haſty concourſe was ſuſceptible of exercitual arrangement, and could face the enemy with firmneſs. They early gave us the decided proof of this, in the memorable battle of *Bunker-Hill*.* We were ſatisfied. This inſtantly convinced us, and for the firſt time convinced *Britons* themſelves, that Americans both would and could fight with great effect. Whereupon Congreſs put at the head of this ſpirited army, the only man, on whom the eyes of all *Iſrael* were placed. Poſterity, I apprehend, and the world itſelf, inconſiderate and incredulous as they may be of the dominion of heaven, will

* June 17, 1775.

yet do ſo much juſtice to the divine moral government, as to acknowledge, that this American JOSHUA was raiſed up by GOD, and *divinely formed* by a peculiar influence of the Sovereign of the Univerſe, for the great work of leading the armies of this American JOSEPH (now ſeparated from his brethren) and conducting this people through the ſevere, the arduous conflict, to Liberty and Independence. Surprizing was it with what inſtant celerity men aſcended and roſe into generals, and officers of every ſubordination; formed chiefly by the preparatory diſcipline of only the preceding year, 1774; when the ardour and ſpirit of military diſcipline was by heaven, and without concert, ſent through the continent like lightning. Surprizing was it, how ſoon the army was organized, took its formation, and roſe into firm ſyſtem and impregnable arrangement.

TO think of withſtanding and encountering Britain by land, was bold, and much more bold and daring by ſea: yet we immediately began a navy, and built ſhips of war with an unexampled expedition. It is preſumed never was a 35 gun ſhip before built quicker than that well built, and noble

ſhip the *Raleigh*, which was finiſhed from the keel and equipt for ſea in a few months. Soon had we got, though ſmall, a very gallant initial navy, which fought gallantly; and wanted nothing but numbers of ſhips, for ſucceſsful operations, againſt that ſuperiour naval force before which we fell. We have, however, exhibited proof to poſterity and the world, that a powerful navy may be originated, built and equipped for ſervice, in a much ſhorter period than was before imagined. The Britiſh navy has been many centuries growing; and France, Holland, the Baltick powers, or any of the powers of this age, in twenty years, may build navies of equal magnitude, if neceſſary for dominion, commerce, or ornament.

A VARIETY of *ſucceſs* and *defeat* hath attended our warfare both by ſea and land. In our loweſt and moſt dangerous eſtate in 1776 and 1777, we ſuſtained ourſelves againſt the Britiſh army of *ſixty thouſand* troops commanded by *Howe*, *Burgoyne*, *Knipbauſen*, and *Clinton*, and other the ableſt generals *Britain* could procure throughout *Europe*, with a naval force of 22,000 ſeamen in above *eighty* Britiſh men

of war.* Theſe generals we ſent home one after another, conquered, defeated, and convinced of the impoſſibility of ſubduing *America*. While oppreſſed by the heavy weight of this combined force, heaven inſpired us with reſolution to cut the Gordian knot; when the die was caſt irrevocable in the glorious act of INDEPENDENCE. This was ſealed and confirmed by GOD Almighty in the victory of General *Waſhington* at *Trenton*, and in the ſurprizing movement and battle of *Princeton*; by which aſtoniſhing effort of generalſhip, General *Howe*, and the whole Britiſh army, in elated confidence, and in open-mouthed march for *Philadelphia*, was inſtantly ſtopt, remanded back, and cooped up for a ſhivering winter in the little borough of *Brunſwick*. Thus GOD *turned the battle to the gate*; and this gave a *finiſhing to the foundation* of the American republick. This with the *Burgoynade* at *Saratoga* by General *Gates*, and the glorious victory over the Earl of *Cornwallis* in *Virginia*, together with the memorable

* To loſe *America*, has coſt Britain the loſs of more than an hundred thouſand men, and an hundred and twenty millions ſterling in money. Mr. *Thomas Pitt*, from authentick documents, lately aſſerted in parliament, that only the firſt five years of this war had coſt Britain five millions more, than all the wars of the laſt age, including the ſplendid victories of the duke of *Marlborough*.

victory of *Eutaw* ſprings, and the triumphant recovery of the ſouthern ſtates by General *Greene*, are among the moſt heroick acts, and brilliant atchievements, which have decided the fate of *America*. And who does not ſee the indubitable interpoſition and energetick influence of Divine Providence in theſe great and illuſtrious events? Who but a *Waſhington*, inſpired by heaven, could have ſtruck out the great movement and manœuvre of *Princeton*? To whom but the Ruler of the winds ſhall we aſcribe it, that the Britiſh reinforcement, in the ſummer of 1777, was delayed on the ocean three months by contrary winds, until it was too late for the conflagrating General *Clinton* to raiſe the ſiege of *Saratoga*? What but a providential miracle detected the conſpiracy of *Arnold*, even in the critical moment of the execution of that infernal plot, in which the body of the American army, then at *Weſt-Point*, with his Excellency General *Waſhington* himſelf, were to have been rendered into the hands of the enemy!—Doubtleſs inſpired by the Supreme Illuminator of great minds, were the joint councils of a *Waſhington* and a *Rochambeau*, in that grand effort of generalſhip, with

which they deceived and aſtoniſhed a *Clinton*, and eluded his vigilance in their tranſit by *New-York*, and rapid marches for *Virginia*. Was it not of GOD, that both the navy and army ſhould enter the *Cheſapeak* at the ſame time? Who but GOD could have ordained the critical arrival of the Gallick fleet, ſo as to prevent and defeat the Britiſh, and aſſiſt and co-operate with the combined armies in the ſiege and reduction of *York-Town*? Should we not ever admire and aſcribe to a ſupreme energy, the wiſe and firm generalſhip diſplayed by General *Greene*, when (leaving the active, roving *Cornwallis* to purſue his helter-ſkelter ill-fated march into *Virginia*) he coolly and ſteadily went onwards, and deliberately, judiciouſly, and heroically, recovered the *Carolinas* and the ſouthern ſtates?

HOW rare have been the defections and apoſtacies of our capital characters, though tempted with all the charms of Gold, Titles, and Nobility? Whence is it that ſo few of our army have deſerted to the enemy? Whence that our brave ſailors have choſen the horrours of priſon ſhips and death, rather than to fight againſt their country? Whence that men of every rank

have ſo generally felt and ſpoken alike, as if the cords of life ſtruck uniſon through the continent? What but a miracle has preſerved the UNION OF THE STATES, the PURITY OF CONGRESS, and the unſhaken PATRIOTISM OF EVERY GENERAL ASSEMBLY? It is GOD who has raiſed up for us a great and powerful ALLY, an ally which ſent us a choſen army, and a naval force; who ſent us a *Rochambeau* and a *Chatelleux*, and other characters of the firſt military merit and eminence, to fight ſide by ſide with a *Waſhington* and a *Lincoln*, and the intrepid Americans, in the ſiege and battle of *York-Town*. It is GOD, who ſo ordered the balancing intereſts of nations, as to produce an irreſiſtible motive in the European maritime powers, to take our part. Hence the recognition of our independence by *Spain* and *Holland*, as well as *France*. Britain ought to have foreſeen, that it muſt have given joy to ſurrounding nations, tired and wearied out with the inſolence and haughtineſs of her domineering flag, a flag which ſpreads terrour through the oceans of the terraqueous globe, to behold the era when their forces ſhould have arrived to ſuch

maturity and ſtrength, that a junction of national navies, would produce an aggregate force, adequate to the humiliation of Britain, and her gallant and lofty navy. Nor could they reſiſt the operation of this motive, prompting them to aſſiſt in the cutting off a member, with which the growing aggrandiſement and power of Britain were connected; as thus ſhe would be diſarmed of terrour, and they ſhould be at reſt. If Britain doth not learn wiſdom by theſe events, and diſclaim the ſovereignty of the ocean, the junction of national navies will ſettle the point for her, in leſs than half a century. So wonderfully does Divine Providence order the time and coincidence of the publick national motives, co-operating in effecting great publick events and revolutions.

BUT the time would fail me to recount the wonder working Providence of GOD, in the events of this war. Let theſe ſerve as a ſpecimen; and lead us to hope that GOD will not forſake this people; for whom he has done ſuch marvellous things (whereof we are glad and rejoice this day) having at length brought us to the dawn of Peace. O PEACE! thou welcome gueſt! all hail, thou heavenly viſitant! calm the

tumult of nations, and wave thy balmy wing to perpetuity over this region of liberty. Let there be a tranquil period for the unmoleſted accompliſhment of the *Magnalia Dei*, the great events in GOD's moral government, deſigned from eternal ages to be diſplayed in theſe ends of the earth.

AND here I beg leave to *congratulate* my country, upon the termination of this cruel and unnatural war, the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the proſpect of PEACE. May this great event excite and elevate our firſt, our higheſt acknowledgments to the SOVEREIGN MONARCH of Univerſal Nature, to the Supreme Diſpoſer and Controller of all Events; let this our pious, ſincere and devout gratitude aſcend in one general effuſion of heart-felt PRAISE and HALLELUJAH, in one united cloud of incenſe, even the incenſe of UNIVERSAL JOY and THANKSGIVING to GOD, from the collective body of the *United States*.

AND while we render our ſupreme honours to the MOST HIGH, the GOD of armies; let us recollect, with affectionate honour, the bold and brave ſons of freedom, who *willingly offered themſelves*, and

bled in the defence of their country. Our fellow-citizens, the OFFICERS and SOLDIERS of the PATRIOT ARMY, who, with the *Manlys*, the *Joneſes*, and other gallant commanders and brave ſeamen of the American navy, have heroically fought the war by ſea and by land, merit of their once bleeding, but now triumphant country, Laurels, Crowns, Rewards, and the higheſt honours. Never was the profeſſion of arms uſed with more glory, or in a better cauſe, ſince the days of JOSHUA the ſon of *Nun*. O WASHINGTON! how do I love thy name! how have I often adored and bleſſed thy GOD, for creating and forming thee the great ornament of human kind! upheld and protected by the Omnipotent, by the LORD of Hoſts, thou haſt been ſuſtained and carried through one of the moſt arduous and moſt important wars in all hiſtory. The world and poſterity will, with admiration, contemplate thy deliberate, cool, and ſtable judgment, thy virtues, thy valour and heroick atchievements, as far ſurpaſſing thoſe of *Cyrus*, whom the world loved and adored. The ſound of thy fame ſhall go out into all the earth, and extend to diſtant ages.

Thou has convinced the world of the BEAUTY OF VIRTUE—for in thee this BEAUTY ſhines with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. Thoſe who would not recognize any *beauty in virtue* in the world beſide, will yet reverence it in thee. There is a glory in thy *diſintereſted benevolence*, which the greateſt characters would purchaſe, if poſſible, at the expence of worlds, and which may excite indeed their emulation, but cannot be felt by the VENAL GREAT—who think every thing, even *virtue* and true *glory*, may be bought and ſold, and trace our every action to motives terminating in *ſelf*.

" Find virtue local, all relation ſcorn,
" See all in ſelf, and but for SELF be born."*

But thou, O WASHINGTON, forgotteſt thyſelf, when thou lovedſt thy bleeding country. Not all the gold of *Ophir*, nor a world filled with rubies and diamonds, could effect or purchaſe the ſublime and noble feelings of thine heart, in that ſingle, ſelf-moved act, when thou renouncedſt the REWARDS OF GENERALSHIP, and heroically tookeſt upon thyſelf the dangerous as well as arduous office of our GENERALISSIMO—and this at a ſolemn moment, when thou didſt delib-

* Dunciad, b. 4, p. 480.

erately caſt the die, for the dubious, the very dubious alternative of a *gibbet* or a TRIUMPHAL ARCH. But, beloved, enſhielded and bleſſed by the great MELCHISEDECK, the King of *Righteouſneſs* as well as *peace*, thou haſt triumphed glorioufly. Such has been thy military wiſdom in the ſtruggles of this arduous conflict, ſuch the noble *rectitude*, *amiableneſs* and *manſuetude* of thy character, ſomething is there ſo ſingularly glorious and venerable thrown by heaven about thee, that not only does thy country love thee, but our very enemies ſtop the madneſs of their fire in full volley, ſtop the illiberality of their ſlander at thy name, as if rebuked from heaven, with a *touch not mine anointed, and do my* HERO *no harm.* Thy fame is of ſweeter perfume than Arabian ſpices in the gardens of *Perſia.* A Baron *de Steuben* ſhall waft its fragrance to the Monarch of *Pruſſia:* a Marquis *de la Fayette* ſhall waft it to a far greater Monarch, and diffuſe thy renown throughout *Europe:* * liſ-

* The author does not doubt but that the capital events in the mediatorial kingdom on earth, into which angels deſire to look, eſpecially thoſe which reſpect the proteſtant *Zion*, are ſubjects of extenſive attention in heaven; and that characters of real and eminent merit in the cauſe of liberty and virtue, are echoed and contemplated with great honour in the celeſtial realms.

tening angels ſhall catch the odour, waft it to heaven, and perfume the univerſe!

AND now that our warfare is ended, do thou, O man of GOD, greatly beloved of the Moſt High, permit a humble miniſter of the bleſſed JESUS, who, though at a diſtance, has vigilantly accompanied thee through every ſtage of thy military progreſs, has watched thine every movement and danger with an heart-felt anxiety and ſolicitude; and who, with the moſt ſincere and fervent wiſhes for thy ſafety and ſucceſs, has not ceaſed day nor night to pray for thee, and to commend thee and thy army to GOD;—condeſcend to permit him to expreſs his moſt cordial congratulations, and to ſhare in the triumphs of thy boſom, on this great and joyous occaſion. We thank the LORD of Hoſts, that has given his ſervant to ſee his deſire upon his enemies, and peace on *Iſrael*. And when thou ſhalt now at length retire from the fatigues of nine laborious campaigns, to the tranquil enjoyment, to the ſweetneſs and ſerenity of domeſtick life, may you never meet the fate of that ornament of arms and of humanity, the great BELISARIUS; but may a crown of univerſal love and gratitude, of univerſal

admiration, and of the univerſal reverence and honour of thy ſaved country, reſt and flouriſh upon the head of its VETERAN GENERAL and glorious DEFENDER; until, by the divine JESUS, whom thou haſt loved and adored, and of whoſe holy religion thou art not aſhamed, thou ſhalt be tranſlated from a world of war, to a world of peace, liberty, and eternal TRIUMPH.

THE time would fail me to commemorate the merits of the other capital characters of the army. To do this, and to pay the tribute of fraternal honour and reſpect, to our glorious ALLIED ARMY, will belong to the future *Homers*, *Livys* and *Taſſos* of our country; for none but Americans can write the American war. They will celebrate the names of a WASHINGTON and a ROCHAMBEAU, a GREENE and a LA FAYETTE, a LINCOLN and a CHATTELLEUX, a GATES and a VIOMENIL, a PUTNAM and a Duc de LAUZUN, a MORGAN, and other heroes who ruſhed to arms, and offered themſelves voluntarily for the defence of liberty. They will take up a lamentation and drop a tear upon the graves of thoſe mighty ones, thoſe *beauties of Iſrael*, who have fallen in battle, from the day of *Lexington* to the victory

of *York-Town*. And while they commemorate thoſe who have lived through ſingular ſufferings, as thoſe honourable perſonages, a LOVEL, a LAURENS, and a GADSDEN; the names of the illuſtrious martyr-generals, WARREN, MERCER, MONTGOMERY, DE KALB, WOOSTER, THOMAS, with a POLASKI, and others, will be recorded as heroically falling in theſe *wars of the* LORD. But I may not enlarge, ſave only that we drop a tear, or rather ſhowers of tears, upon the graves of thoſe other brave officers and ſoldiers, that fell in battle, or otherwiſe periſhed in the war. *Oh! that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountain of tears*, that I might weep the thouſands of our brethren, that have periſhed in *Priſon-ſhips*—in one of which, the *Jerſey*, then lying at *New-York*, periſhed above *eleven thouſand* the laſt three years! while others have been barbarouſly exiled to the Eaſt-Indies for life!—— Come mourn with me all ye tender parents and friends, the fate of your dear—dear——But theſe ſcenes are too tender and diſtreſſing!—Can we ever love *Britain* again?—Can the tender, affectionate fathers and mothers, brothers and ſiſters; can the numerous bemoaning friends and

relatives, and perhaps the eſpouſed boſoms of the tender ſex—can they, I ſay, ever forget the cruel mockings, ſcourgings, *ſtarvations*, deaths, aſſaſſinations, of their deareſt offſpring and connexions in Britiſh captivity? Can they forget the numerous thouſands of their captivated countrymen inſtantly conſigned to deſtruction, to dungeons, priſons, places of variolous infection and certain death? Will they be ſoothed by telling them this is the *fate of war?* As well may inquiſitorial cruelties be ſoothed, by alledging they are ſalutary corrections, and neceſſary for the good of the church. Our enemies took occaſion, from this *fate of war*, to reek their vengeance, and to laſh us with a ſeverity too unmerciful ever to be forgotten. Can we forget the conflagrations of *Charleſtown*, *Norfolk*, *Falmouth*, *Eſopus*, *Fairfield*, *Norwalk*, *New-London*, *Bedford*, *Briſtol*, *Jameſtown*, *Danbury*, and other American towns, laid in aſhes by a *Tryon*, and other incendiaries? * Were theſe the kindneſſes American brethren received from the hands of *Britons*, and their more cruel aſſociates the *Indians* and

* Twelve temples, or houſes of publick worſhip, were burnt and demoliſhed by the Britiſh, from *Boſton* to *Hudſon's River*; beſides thoſe burned beyond.

Loyaliſts? Can we forget the barbarous tragedy of Colonel *Haine*, or the murder of Captain *Huddy*, in violation of the moſt ſacred laws of war and of national honour? Bluſh, oh *Britain*, for the ſtain of your national glory! Can we ever forget with what cruel and malicious delight they tortured, entowered, and inſulted an American plenipotentiary, the illuſtrious LAURENS, although by the laws of honour and nations the perſon of an ambaſſadour is ſacred? Can we ever forget the cruel and infamous treatment of the honourable Mr. *Gadſden?*—O *Gadſden!* how I reverence thy piety, thy firmneſs in captivity, thine intrepid and uncorrupted patriotiſm, thine enlightened politicks, thy unremitted fervour and zeal in the cauſe of liberty! But how painful is it to recount the even leſs than ten thouſandth part of the ſeries of diſtreſſes, the complicated woe and miſery, that make up the ſyſtem of ſufferings, which we have been called to endure, in the pangs and throes of the parturition of empire, in "effecting our "glorious revolution, in reſcuing millions "from the hand of oppreſſion, and in lay-"ing the foundation of a great empire." *

* General *Waſhington's* addreſs to the army, in general orders, April 19, 1783, on the ceſſation of hoſtilities.

THE *PATRIOT ARMY* merits our commemoration, and ſo do the great characters in the patriotick ASSEMBLIES and CONGRESS. Let *America* never forget what they owe to thoſe firſt intrepid defenders of their rights, the honourable Mr. *Samuel Adams*, and the honourable *James Otis*, Eſq; add to theſe the Hon. Dr. *John Winthrop*, and the Hon. *James Bowdoin*, Eſq; who, with others, were the marked objects of miniſterial vengeance; who early ſtept forth and heroically withſtood tyranny, and alarmed their country with its danger; while venal ſycophants were lulling us to reſt, and huſhing us into ſilence. His Excellency Mr. Preſident *Randolph*, merits our grateful commemoration; and ſo do the Governours *Rutledge*, *Ward*, *Livingſton*, *Hopkins*, *Naſh*, *Clinton*, the honourable Meſſieurs *Wythe*, *Dyer*, *Sherman*, *Pendelton*, *Henry Ellery*, the *Lees*, Preſident *Huntington*, *Lynch*, *Witherſpoon*, *O. Wolcott*, Governour *Paca*, Governour *Hall*, *Law*, *Marchant*, Preſident *M'Kean*, *Elſworth*, *Vandyke*, *Jefferſon*—*Jefferſon*, who poured the ſoul of the continent into the monumental act of independence. Theſe, and other worthy perſonages of this and the other ſtates, will be

celebrated in hiſtory, among the cardinal patriots of this revolution. All the ages of man will not obliterate the meritorious name of his Excellency Governour HANCOCK, as Preſident of Congreſs at a moſt critical era, nor the meritorious names of that illuſtrious band of heroes and compatriots, thoſe ſenſible and intrepid worthies, who, with him, reſolutely and nobly dared, in the face of every danger, to ſign the glorious act of INDEPENDENCE.* May their names

*JOHN HANCOCK.

New-Hampſhire.
JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

Maſſachuſetts.
SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT-TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode-Iſland.
STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut.
ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New-York.
WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

New-Jerſey.
RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS-HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

Pennſylvania.
ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

Delaware.
CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ.

Maryland.
SAMUEL CHACE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, *of Carrollton.*

Virginia.
GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD-HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, *jun.*
FRANCIS-LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

North-Carolina.
WILLIAM HOOPER,

live, be preſerved, and tranſmitted to poſterity with deſerved reputation and honour, through all American ages. Thoſe great Civilians and Ambaſſadours, the illuſtrious FRANKLIN, ADAMS, JAY, and LAURENS, have approved themſelves equal to the higheſt negociations in the courts of nations; been faithful to their country's liberties, and by their great and eminent ſervices have juſtly merited to have their names ſent forward to immortality in hiſtory, with renown and unſullied glory.

GREAT and extenſive will be the happy effects of this warfare, in which we have been called in Providence to fight out, not the liberties of *America* only, but the liberties of the world itſelf. The ſpirited and ſucceſsful ſtand which we have made againſt tyranny, will prove the ſalvation of *England* and *Ireland*: and by teaching all ſovereigns the danger of irritating and trifling with the affections and loyalty of their ſubjects, introduce clemency, moderation and juſtice into publick government at large through *Europe*. Already

JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.
South-Carolina.
EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, *jun.*
THOMAS LYNCH, *jun.*
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.
Georgia.
BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

have we learned *Ireland*, and all other nations, the road to liberty; the way to a redreſs of grievances, by open *ſyſtematical meaſures*, *Committees of Correſpondence*, and *military diſcipline* of an armed people. *Ireland* has become glorioufly independent of *England*. Nor will the ſpirit reſt, until *Scotland* becomes independent alſo. It would be happier for the three kingdoms, to ſubſiſt with parliaments and national councils independent of one another, although confederated under one monarch. The union of 1707 has produced the loſs and diſmemberment of *America*. It is juſt poſſible, that within this age, ſome ill-fated counſellor of another connexion, might have ariſen, and prompted majeſty and parliament to ſanguinary meaſures againſt *America*: but it is more than probable, that their enforcement would have been deferred, or procraſtinated a century hence, or to a period when our accumulated population would have dictated wiſer, milder meaſures, to the Britiſh court; and ſo *America*, by a gentle, fraternal connexion, would have remained cemented to Britain for diſtant ages. But a *Rehoboam* counſellor ſtepped in, *et actum eſt de republica*—

the ten tribes are loſt.* Had it not been for the inſidious and haughty councils of a *Bute* and a *Mansfield*, imbued with principles incompatible with liberty; with the unwieldy faction of their deſpotick connexions in the empire, *America* and *Ireland* had remained united with Britain to this day. Chagrined and mortified by the defeat and diſhonour brought upon them by *Butean* councils and dominion, as well as with their curtailed and unequal weight in parliament, *Scotland*, emulous of the glory of *Ireland*, will wiſh for and obtain a diſſolution of the union, and re-

* And very ſoon ſo will *Bengal* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, be loſt, and delivered from the cruelty and injuſtice of Britiſh Government there. This will ſpeedily be the fruit of *Great-Britain's* departing from the *commercial* to *governmental* idea concerning the Eaſt. The conflagrating and plundering cruelties of a *Clive*, and the abſurd haughtineſs of the ſubſequent dominion, will at length rouſe the ſpirit of thoſe populous parts of the oriental empires, having learned the uſe of artillery and the European modes of war, to make one vigorous exertion, and ſhake off this foreign yoke. It is not within the compaſs of human probability, it is abſurd and abſolutely impoſſible, that *fifteen millions* of people ſhould long continue ſubjugated to the government of *five or ſix million* at the diſtance of half the circumference of the Globe. This event may be accelerated by the neceſſary tripartite *diviſion of the navy* in the *oriental* and *Atlantick oceans*. The union of European navies cannot fail of taking advantage of the future comparative weakneſs of Britiſh ſtrength ariſing from this diviſion. Too ſoon, alas! may Britain, with both wings lopped off, the *Eaſt-Indies* and *America*, exhibit the ſpectacle among nations, deſcribed by the *Franklinean* emblem of *Magna Britannia with her Colonies reduced*. One cannot refrain from tears at contemplating the fate of nations, the *riſe* and *fall of empires*.

ſume a ſeparate ſovereignty. It muſt be the *lenity*, the *wiſdom*, the gentle and pacifick meaſures of an *Auguſtan* age, that can conſerve the remnant of the *Britiſh* empire from this tripartite diviſion.

NOR will the Britiſh iſles alone be relieved into liberty, but more extenſive ſtill will be the *peaceable fruits* of our righteous conflict. The queſtion on the *mare liberum* and the *mare clauſum*, heretofore diſcuſſed by the ableſt civilians of the laſt century, will no more require the learned labours of a *Milton*, a *Selden*, a *Grotius*. This war has decided, not by the *jus maritimum* of *Rhodes*, *Oleron* or *Britain*, but on the principles of commercial utility and publick right, that the NAVIGATION OF THE ATLANTICK OCEAN SHALL BE FREE; and ſo probably will be that of all the oceans of the terraqueous globe. All the European powers will henceforth, from national and commercial intereſts, naturally become an united and combined guaranty, for the free navigation of the Atlantick, and free commerce with *America*. Intereſt will eſtabliſh a free acceſs for all nations to our ſhores, and for us to all nations. The *armed neutrality* will diſarm even war itſelf of hoſtilities againſt

trade, will form a new chapter in the laws of nations, and preſerve a free commerce among powers at war. Fighting armies will decide the fate of empires by the ſword, without interrupting the civil, ſocial and commercial intercourſe of ſubjects. The want of any thing to take, will prove a natural abolition of privateering, when the property ſhall be covered with neutral protection. Even the navies will, within a century, become uſeleſs. A generous and truly liberal ſyſtem of national connexion, in the ſpirit of the plan conceived and nearly executed by the great HENRY IV. of *France*,* will almoſt annihilate war itſelf.

WE ſhall have a communication with all nations in *commerce*, *manners* and *ſcience*, beyond any thing heretofore known in the world. Manufacturers and artizans, and men of every deſcription, may, perhaps, come and ſettle among us. They will be few indeed in compariſon with the annual thouſands of our natural increaſe, and will be incorporated with the prevailing hereditary complexion of the firſt ſettlers:—We ſhall not be aſſimilated to them, but they to us, eſpecially in the

* *Sully's* Memoirs.

ſecond and third generations. This fermentation and communion of nations will doubtleſs produce ſomething very new, ſingular, and glorious. Upon the conqueſt of *Alexander* the great, *ſtatuary*, *painting*, *architecture*, *philoſophy*, and the other *fine arts* were tranſplanted in perfection from *Athens* to *Tarſus*, from *Greece* to *Syria*; where they immediately flouriſhed in even greater perfection, than in the parent ſtate. Not in Greece herſelf, are there to be found ſpecimens of a ſublimer or more magnificent architecture, even in the Grecian ſtile, than in the ruins of *Baalbeck* and *Palmyra*. So all the arts may be tranſplanted from *Europe* and *Aſia*, and flouriſh in *America* with an augmented luſtre: not to mention the augment of the ſciences, from American inventions and diſcoveries—of which there have been as capital ones here,* the laſt half century, as in all *Europe*.

* AMERICAN INVENTIONS.

1730. Reflecting Quadrant (commonly called *Hadley's.*) By Mr. *Thomas Godfrey*, at *Philadelphia*.
1731. Mercurial Inoculation. By Dr. *Muirſon*.
1750. Electrical pointed Rods. By Dr. *Franklin*.
1755. Terreſtrial Comets. By Preſident *Clap*.
1762. Sand-Iron. By Dr. *Jared Elliot*.
1776. Submarine Navigation by the Power of the Screw. By Mr. *Buſhnel*.
1769. Quantity of Matter in Comets. By Profeſſor *Winthrop*.

THE rough ſonorous diction of the Engliſh language may here take its Athenian poliſh, and receive its attick urbanity; as it will probably become the vernacular tongue of more numerous millions, than ever yet ſpake one language on earth. It may continue for ages to be the prevailing and general language of *North-America*. The intercommunion of the *United States* with all the world, in *travels*, *trade*, and *politicks*, and the infuſion of letters into our infancy, will probably preſerve us from the provincial dialects, riſen into inexterminable habit before the invention of Printing. The Greek never became the language of the Alexandrine, nor the Turkiſh of the Ottoman conqueſts; nor yet the Latin that of the Roman empire. The Saracenick conqueſts have already loſt the pure and elegant Arabick of the *Koreiſh* tribe, or the family of *Iſhmael*, in the corrupted dialects of Egypt, Syria, Perſia, and Indoſtan. Different from theſe the Engliſh language will grow up, with the preſent American population, into great purity and elegance, unmutilated by the foreign dialects of foreign conqueſts. And in this connexion I may obſerve, with pleaſure, how GOD, in his

Providence, it ordered that, at the reformation, the *English* tranſlation of the Bible ſhould be made with very great accuracy, with greater accuracy, it is preſumed, than any other tranſlation. This is ſaid, allowing that ſome texts admit of correction. I have compared it throughout with the originals, Hebrew, Greek, and Syriack; and beg leave to judge, and teſtify it to be, a very excellent tranſlation. Nor do I believe a better is ever to be expected in this imperfect ſtate. It ſuſtained a reviſion of numerous tranſlators from *Tyndal*, to the laſt review by the Biſhops and other learned Divines, in the time of *James* I. 180 years ago; and has never been altered ſince.* It may have been deſigned by Providence for the future peruſal of more millions of the human race than ever were able to read one book, and for their uſe to the Millennial ages.

THIS great American revolution, this recent political phenomenon of a new ſovereignty ariſing among the ſovereign powers of the earth, will be attended to and contemplated by all nations. Navigation will carry the American flag around

* Vid. *Lewis*'s hiſt. tranſl. bib.

the globe itſelf; and diſplay the Thirteen Stripes and New Conſtellation at *Bengal* and *Canton** on the *Indus* and *Ganges*, on the *Whang-ho* and the *Yang-tſe-kiang*; and with commerce will import the wiſdom and literature of the eaſt. That prophecy of *Daniel* is now literally fulfilling—ישוטטו רבים ותרבה הדעת—there ſhall be an univerſal travelling *to and fro*, *and knowledge ſhall be increaſed.* This knowledge will be brought home and treaſured up in *America*: and being here digeſted and carried to the higheſt perfection, may reblaze back from *America* to *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, and illumine the world with TRUTH and LIBERTY.

THAT great Civilian, Dr. JOHN ADAMS, the learned and illuſtrious American Ambaſſadour, obſerves thus, ‡ "But the great deſigns of Providence muſt be accompliſh-

* Since the firſt edition in 1783, this voyage has been happily performed for the *firſt time*, in about fourteen months, by the EMPEROR-OF-CHINA, a ſhip of 360 tons, JOHN GREEN, Eſq; of *Boſton*, Commander. She ſailed from *New-York*, Feb. 22, 1784; arrived at *Canton* in *China*, Aug. 30; departed thence Dec. 27, on her return; and arrived ſafe at *New-York*, May 11, 1785, with the loſs of but one man in the whole voyage. And Aug. 9, 1785, the ſhip PALLAS, Capt. JOHN O'DONNEL, arrived at *Baltimore* from *China*. She left *Macao*, in *Canton*, the 20th of Jan. preceding. This was the ſecond Eaſt-India ſhip from *China* to *America*. The ſame month of Aug. 1785, a *Swediſh* ſhip arrived alſo at *Baltimore* from *Calcutta*, in the *Eaſt Indies*. This is the third Eaſt-India ſhip which arrived in *America* in the year 1785.

‡ Lett. Dec. 18, 1781.

ed;—great indeed! The progreſs of ſociety will be accelerated by centuries by this revolution. The Emperour of Germany is adopting, as faſt as he can, American Ideas of toleration and religious liberty: And it will become the faſhionable ſyſtem of *Europe* very ſoon. Light ſpreads from the day-ſpring in the weſt; and may it ſhine more and more until the perfect day."——So ſpreading may be the ſpirit for the reſtoration and recovery of long loſt national rights, that even the *Cortes* of Spain may re-exiſt, and reſume their ancient ſplendour, authority, and control of royalty.* The ſame principles of wiſdom and enlightened politicks, may eſtabliſh rectitude in publick government throughout the world.

THE moſt ample *religious liberty* will alſo probably obtain among all nations.

* So jealous were the *Cortes* of their liberties, that the ſtates of *Arragon* in particular, after ſundry previous ſtipulations, exacted a coronation oath of the king, which was pronounced by the *Juſtitia Arragonenſis* (who repreſented the perſon of the ſupreme power in the ſtate) a power which they aſſerted to be ſuperiour to kings, in theſe words, NOS QUI VALEMOS TANTO COMME VOS, Y PODEMOS MAS QUE VOS, VOS ELEGIMOS REY: CON ESTAS Y ESTAS CONDITIONES, INTRA VOS Y NOS, UN QUE MANDA MAS QUE VOS. "We who are as powerful as you, and have more authority than you, elect you king with the ſtipulated conditions; between you and us, there is one (viz. the Juſticiary) higher in command than you."——See a learned anonymous tract, *De jure magiſtratuum in ſubdito et officio ſubditorum erga magiſtratus*: printed at *Lyons*, 1576, full of jural and political erudition—and for that age, full of liberty.

Benevolence and religious lenity is increaſing among the nations. The *Reformed* in *France*, who were formerly oppreſſed with heavy perſecution, at preſent enjoy a good degree of religious liberty, though by ſilent indulgence only. A reeſtabliſhment of the *edict of Nantz*, would honour the *Grand Monarch*, by doing publick juſtice to a large body of his beſt and moſt loyal ſubjects. The *Emperour* of Germany, laſt year, publiſhed an imperial decree granting liberty for the free and unmoleſted exerciſe of the proteſtant religion within the *Auſtrian* territories and dominions.* The *Inquiſition* has been, in effect, this year, ſuppreſſed in Spain, where the King, by an edict of 3d of November, 1782, proclaimed liberty for inhabitants of all religions: And by a happily conceived plan for *literary reformation*, the *Aurora* of ſcience will ſpeedily blaze into meridian ſplendour in that kingdom. An emulation for *liberty* and *ſcience* is enkindled among the nations,

* The order of Jeſuits, ſuppreſſed in rapid ſucceſſion by the European Princes 1765, was finally aboliſhed 1773, by the learned, the ſenſible, and ſagacious *Ganganelli*, who bid fairer to have re-united the proteſtants, had it been poſſible, than any Pontiff ſince the ſeceſſion from *Leo* X. Nor can the order be revived; nor the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes in Spain and Auſtria, nor Auſtrian liberty, be prevented by the bigotted auſtere, *Braſchi*, the preſent reigning Pontiff.

and will doubtleſs produce ſomething very liberal and glorious, in this age of ſcience, this period of the empire of reaſon.*

THE *United States* will emboſom all the religious ſects or denominations in Chriſtendom. Here they may all enjoy their whole reſpective ſyſtems of worſhip and church government, complete. Of theſe, next to the *preſbyterians*, the *Church of England* will hold a diſtinguiſhed and principal figure. They will ſoon furniſh themſelves with a Biſhop in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and perhaps another to the northward, to ordain their clergy, give confirmation, ſuperintend and govern their churches; the main body of which will be in Virginia and Maryland, beſides a *diaſpora* or interſperſion in all the other ſtates. The *Unitas Fratrum*, for above thirty years paſt, have had Moravian Biſhops in *America*; and *I think they have* three at preſent, though not of local or dioceſan juriſdiction, their paſtorate being the whole *unity* throughout the world. In this there ever was a diſtinction between the *Bohemian* epiſcopacy, and that

* Juſtly may we anticipate great alterations in ſociety, and very beneficent improvements in the ſtate of mankind, "from the progreſſive "refinement of manners, the growing liberality of ſentiment, and above "all, the PURE AND BENIGN LIGHT OF REVELATION."
Gen. *Waſhington.*

of the eaſtern and weſtern churches; for in a body of 2000 ancient Bohemian churches, they ſeldom had above two or three Biſhops.—The *Baptiſts*, the *Friends*, the *Lutherans*, the *Romaniſts*, are all conſiderable bodies, in all their diſperſions through the ſtates. The *Dutch* and *Gallick*, and *German* reformed or Calviniſtick churches among us, I conſider as preſbyterian, differing from us in nothing of moment, ſave in language. There is a conſiderable body of theſe in the ſtates of *New-York*, *Jerſey*, *Pennſylvania*, and at *Ebenezer* in *Georgia*. There is a *Greek church* brought from *Smyrna*, but I think it falls below theſe ſtates. There are *Weſtleians*, *Mennoniſts* and others, all which make a very conſiderable amount, in compariſon with thoſe, who will give the religious complexion to *America*; which for the ſouthern parts will be epiſcopal, the northern preſbyterian. All religious denominations will be independent of one another, as much as the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in the eaſt; and having, on account of religion, no ſuperiority as to ſecular powers and civil immunities, they will cohabit together in harmony, and I hope, with a moſt gen-

erous Catholiciſm and Benevolence. The example of a friendly cohabitation of all ſects in *America*, proving that men may be good members of civil ſociety, and yet differ in religion: This precedent, I ſay, which has already been intently ſtudied and contemplated for fifteen years paſt by *France*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, may have already had an effect in introducing moderation, lenity, and juſtice, among European ſtates. And who can tell how extenſive a bleſſing this American *Joſeph* may become to the whole human race, although once deſpiſed by his brethren, exiled and ſold into Egypt? How applicable that in *Gen.* xlix. 22. 26. Joſeph *is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well; whoſe branches run over the wall. The Archers have ſorely grieved him, and ſhot at him, and hated him. But his bow abode in ſtrength, the arms of his hands were made ſtrong by the arms of the mighty* GOD *of* Jacob.——*The bleſſings of thy father, have prevailed above the bleſſings of my progenitors, unto the utmoſt bound of the everlaſting hill: They ſhall be on the head of* JOSEPH, *and on the crown of the head of him that was* SEPARATED *from his brethren.*

LITTLE would Civilians have thought ages ago, that the world ſhould ever look to *America* for models of government and polity: Little did they think of finding this moſt perfect polity among the poor outcaſts, the contemptible people of New-England, and particularly in the long deſpiſed civil polity of *Connecticut*; a polity conceived by the ſagacity and wiſdom of a WINTHROP, a WYLLYS, a LUDLOW, HAYNES, HOPKINS, HOOKER, and the other firſt ſettlers of *Hartford*, in 1636. And while *Europe* and *Aſia* may hereafter learn that the moſt liberal principles of law and civil polity are to be found on this ſide the Atlantick, they may alſo find the true religion here depurated from the ruſt and corruption of ages, and learn from us to reform and reſtore the church to its primitive purity. It will be long before the eccleſiaſtical pride of the ſplendid European hierarchies, can ſubmit to learn wiſdom from thoſe, whom they have been inured to look upon with ſovereign contempt. But candid and liberal diſquiſition will ſooner or later have a great effect. Removed from the embarraſſments of corrupt ſyſtems, and the dignities and blinding opulence connected with

them, the unfettered mind can think with a noble enlargement, and with an unbounded freedom, go wherever the light of truth directs. Here will be no bloody tribunals, no cardinals inquiſitors-general, to bend the human mind, forcibly to controul the underſtanding, and put out the light of reaſon, the candle of the LORD, in man; to force an innocent *Galileo* to renounce truths demonſtrable as the light of day. Religion may here receive its laſt, moſt liberal, and impartial examination. Religious liberty is peculiarly friendly to fair and generous diſquiſition. Here deiſm will have its full chance; nor need libertines more to complain of being overcome by any weapons, but the gentle, the powerful ones of *argument* and *truth*. Revelation will be found to ſtand the teſt to the ten thouſandth examination.

THERE are three coetaneous events to take place, whoſe futurition is certain from prophecy, the annihilation of the Pontificate, the reaſſembling of the Jews, and the fulneſs of the Gentiles. That liberal and candid diſquiſition of Chriſtianity, which will moſt aſſuredly take place in *America*, will prepare *Europe* for the firſt

event, with which the other will be connected, when, eſpecially on the return of the twelve tribes to the Holy Land, there will burſt forth a degree of evidence hitherto unperceived, and of efficacy to convert a world. More than three quarters of mankind yet remain heathen. Heaven put a ſtop to the propagation of Chriſtianity, when the church became corrupted with the adoration of numerous deities and images, becauſe this would have been only exchanging an old for a new idolatry. Nor is Chriſtendom now larger than it was nine centuries ago. The promiſing proſpects of the *Propaganda fide* at *Rome* are coming to nothing: and it may be of the divine deſtiny, that all other attempts for goſpelizing the nations of the earth ſhall prove fruitleſs, until the preſent Chriſtendom itſelf be recovered to the primitive purity and ſimplicity. At which time, inſtead of the Babel confuſion of contradicting miſſionaries, all will harmoniouſly concur in ſpeaking one language, one holy faith, one apoſtolick religion, to an uncontroverted world. At this period, and in effecting this great event, we have reaſon to think, that the *United States* may be of no ſmall influence

and conſideration. It was of the LORD, to ſend *Joſeph* into Egypt, to ſave much people, and to ſhew forth his praiſe. It is of the LORD, that *a woman clothed with the ſun, and the moon under her feet*, and upon *her head a crown of twelve ſtars*,* ſhould *flee into the wilderneſs, where ſhe hath a place prepared of* GOD,† and where ſhe might be the repoſitory of Wiſdom, and *keep the commandments of* GOD, *and have the teſtimony of* JESUS. It may have been of the LORD, that Chriſtianity is to be found in ſuch great purity, in this church exiled into the wilderneſſes of *America*; and that its pureſt body ſhould be evidently advancing forward, by an augmented natural increaſe and ſpiritual edification, into a ſingular ſuperiority—with the ultimate ſubſerviency to the glory of GOD, in converting the world.

WHEN we look forward and ſee this country increaſed to forty or fifty millions, while we ſee all the religious ſects increaſed into reſpectable bodies, we ſhall doubtleſs find the united body of the *congregational*, *conſociated*, and *preſbyterian* churches, making an equal figure with any of them; or to ſay the leaſt, to be of

* Not to ſay Thirteen. † Rev. xii. 1.

ſuch magnitude as to number, that it will be to no purpoſe for other ſects to meditate their everſion. This, indeed, is enterprized, but it will end in a Siſyphean labour. There is the greateſt proſpect that we ſhall become thirty out of forty millions. And while the avenues to civil improvement and publick honours, will here be equally open to all ſects, ſo it will be no diſhonour hereafter to be a preſbyterian, or of the religious denomination which will probably ever make the moſt diſtinguiſhed figure in this great republick. And hereafter when the world ſhall behold us a reſpectable part of Chriſtendom, they may be induced by curioſity, with calmneſs and candour to examine, whether ſomething of Chriſtianity may not really be found among us. And while we have to lament our Laodiceaniſm, deficient morals and incidental errours, yet the *collective ſyſtem of evangelical doctrines*, the *inſtituted ordinances*, and the true eccleſiaſtical *polity*, may be found here in a great degree of purity. Europeans, and ſome among us, have habituated themſelves to a moſt contemptible idea of the New-England Churches—conceiving us to be only a colluvies of errour, fanaticiſm, ir-

regularity and confuſion.* They have taken this idea in part from our brethren in Britain, who have viewed us very much alſo in the ſame light, to this day. This on the contrary is the truth, that, allowing for offences unavoidable, for imperfections and controverſies, incident to the churches in their moſt regular ſtate, our churches are as completely reformed, and as well modelled according to the ſcripture plan, as can be expected until the Millennium. Particularly theſe eſſential things may be found among them upon examination, that the churches or particular congregations are regularly formed, and duly uphold publick worſhip every Lordſday, and this ordinarily in a very decent ſolemn manner, that the *preaching* of the word, *baptiſm* and the *Lord's ſupper* are regularly and duly adminiſtered by the paſtors: that the paſtors are orderly and regularly ſet apart to the miniſtry, by the laying on of the hands of the preſbytery, or of thoſe who have regularly derived office power, in lineal ſucceſſion, from the Apoſtles and JESUS CHRIST. We have no claſſical or ſynodical tribunals; yet we have eccleſiaſtical councils.

* *Peters's* Hiſt. of *Connecticut.*

And our church diſcipline, although not ſufficiently attended to, is ſuch that perſons of evident ſcandal and immorality, and vicious miniſters (of which GOD be thanked, there have been but few, very few indeed) cannot live long in our churches. With all our humbling imperfections, I know of no amendments neceſſary, as to our general ſyſtem of church polity. Nothing of moment, unleſs it be *grace*, no *doctrine*, no *ordinance* or inſtitution of the primitive churches, but may be found in general reception and obſervance among us. If we are condemned for having no tribunals or judicatories out of the church, which however is not true, let it be remembered that neither CHRIST nor his Apoſtles ever inſtituted any; and that in this reſpect, we are juſt in the ſame ſtate, with regard to eccleſiaſtical polity as the hundred and fifty churches of the Apoſtolick age,* and particularly the ſeven churches of *Aſia*, in the time of St. *John*.

THE invalidity of our *Ordinations* is objected againſt us, and ſo of conſequence the invalidity of all our official adminiſtrations.

* It has been computed, that the churches of the apoſtolick age did not exceed one hundred and fifty or two hundred congregations in the whole world.

And now that we are upon the matter, give me leave to exhibit a true, though ſummary ſtate of it, as the reſult of a very full, laborious, and thorough inquiry. It was the miſtaken opinion of ſome of our firſt miniſters in New-England (than whom, there never was a more learned collection, for they emboſomed all the theological and eccleſiaſtical erudition of all ages) it was, I ſay, their opinion, that the Power of Ordination of all church officers, was in the church. They well knew, from eccleſiaſtical and ſcripture antiquity, that the power of election was there; and they judged ordination the leſſer act; but their great reaſon was, that the church might not be controlled by any exteriour authority, whether epiſcopal or preſbyterial, and ſo no more be harraſſed by biſhops courts, or any other ſimilar tribunals. Our fathers held to an elderſhip, for they ſaw it in all antiquity, as well as the Bible: And it was their judgment, that elders ſhould be ordained by elders of the ſame church. The moſt of the firſt forty churches had ruling elders; a few had not. Theſe few created an early difficulty; on which our fathers early made a miſtaken deciſion, that where

there were no elders in the church, ordination might be done by the laying on of hands of delegated brethren. The introduction of miniſters, already ordained, into the paſtoral charge of a particular church was at firſt done by lay-brethren; and this was, from the beginning, *improperly* called *ordination*, how often ſoever repeated. A repetition of ordinations, or baptiſms, does not nullify the firſt regular adminiſtrations. All the firſt New-England miniſters were ordained before. Thus Mr. *Wilſon* was firſt ordained by a biſhop in England; then, 1630, by Governour *Winthrop* and others he was ordained *Teacher* in *Boſton*; he then ordained an elder: And upon the acceſſion of Mr. *Cotton*, 1633, he was, by this Elder and Governour *Winthrop*, again, a third time, ordained and conſtituted paſtor. So the learned and courtly Mr. *Davenport* was ordained by a biſhop, then by the brethren, paſtor of the church in *New-Haven*, in 1639; and 1668, was again ordained, paſtor of the firſt church in *Boſton*, by elder *Penn*. Mr. *Hooker* was ordained a preſbyter by a biſhop in England, and then again by the brethren at *Newtown*, 1633, who removed with his church to

Hartford. Mr. *Bulkley*, of *Concord*, and Mr. *Noyes*, of *Newbury*, and others, expreſſly adhered to their former ordinations in England by the biſhops, though not as biſhops, but as preſbyters.* But

* A few extracts from the firſt Governour *Winthrop's* entries in a manuſcript diary, may evince that the miniſters relied upon their ordinations in England. At Auguſt 27, 1630, "We of the congregation kept a faſt and choſe Mr. *Wilſon* our Teacher, and Mr. *Newel* our elder, and Mr. *Gager*, and Mr. *Aſpinwall*, Deacons. We uſed impoſitions of hands, but with this proteſtation by all, that it was only as a ſign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. *Wilſon* ſhould renounce his miniſtry he received in England." Mr. *Gager* died 20th September, and October 25th, 1630, Mr. *Colburne*, who was choſen a Deacon by the congregation a week before, was inveſted by impoſition of hands of the miniſter and elder."

November 22, 1632. "A faſt was held by the congregation of *Boſton* and Mr. *Wilſon* formerly their teacher, was choſen paſtor, and —— *Oliver* a ruling elder, and both were ordained by impoſition of hands firſt by the teacher and two deacons—upon the elder, and then by the elder and deacons upon the paſtor."

October 10, 1633.—Mr. "*Cotton* was then choſen Teacher of the congregation of *Boſton* and ordained by impoſition of the hands of the preſbytery.——The paſtor and two elders laid their hands upon their head, and the paſtor prayed, and then taking off their hands laid them on again and, ſpeaking, to him by name, did thereby deſign him to the ſaid office—and did give him the charge of the congregation.—Then the neighbouring miniſters which were preſent did at the paſtor's notice give him the right hand of fellowſhip."

October 11, 1633, "A faſt at *Newtown* where Mr. *Hooker* was choſen paſtor and Mr. *Stone* teacher in ſuch manner as before at *Boſton*."

Mr. *Bulkley's* ordination was 2d. mon. 6th day, 1637. "The church of *Concord* kept a day of humiliation—for the ordination of their elders, and they choſe Mr. *Bulkley* teacher and Mr. *Jonet* paſtor. Upon a queſtion being moved by one ſent from the church of *Salem* it was reſolved by the miniſters there preſent, that ſuch as had been miniſters in England, were lawful miniſters notwithſtanding their acceptance of the call of the biſhops —but having come hither, they accounted themſelves no mini-

in general the induction of the miniſters of the firſt churches, was performed by lay-brethren, and this was called ordination, but ſhould be conſidered what in reality it was, only induction or inſtalment of thoſe who were veſted with official power. Theſe, as I ſaid, were all ordained before by the Biſhops in England. Nor have I ever found, with certainty, more than one inſtance of lay-ordination, of a perſon never before ordained, the laſt century, (and there are few but what I have examined) and this was done by the advice and under the inſpection of miniſters ordained by the biſhops in England, one of whom prayed at the ſolemnity of the conſecration, and all gave their approbation and right hand of fellowſhip; which in my opinion, amounts to their performing the ordination themſelves, they being

ſters, until they were called to another church, and that upon election they were miniſters before they were ſolemnly ordained."

Another ſpecimen of the firſt New-England ordinations we have in the church of *Dedham*, "*April* 24, 1639. *John Hunting*, one of the brethren was ordained to the office of a ruling elder by faſting and prayer and the laying on the hands of Mr. *John Allin* their paſtor elect and two other brethren. The ſame day Mr. *John Allin* was ordained to the office of paſtor by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the ruling elder and two other brethren." Mr. *Allin* had been ordained by a biſhop; and he communicated ordaining power to the elder. He died 1671; and was ſucceeded in the paſtorate by Mr. *Adams*, who in 1673 was ordained by neighbouring paſtors only.

preſent and aſſiſting in the tranſaction. This was at *Woburn*, 1642. I believe there were two or three more ſimilar ordinations of unordained candidates, before the miniſters ſaw and corrected their errour—which, indeed, was almoſt the only errour, of moment, which the miniſters went into the laſt century.

IMMEDIATELY upon publiſhing the *Cambridge* Platform, 1648, our brethren in England remonſtrated againſt allowing lay-ordination. They alledged, that we had no example in ſcripture of lay-ordination; that the ſacerdotal gift, or office-power, was conferred and given *by the laying on of the hands of the preſbytery*,* and that we had examples of preſbyterian ordination in ſcripture, and not only that it was ſafeſt to proceed in this way, but that it was the only ſcriptural ground. Theſe arguments convinced our fathers, and they immediately ſet about to remedy the practice, which had hitherto, providentially, wrought no miſchief, as the body of the paſtors had hitherto been ordained by Biſhops. It inſtantly became a cuſtom for ſome of the ordained miniſters preſent to lay on hands in ordinations, it being for ſome time judged neceſſary, that the delegated brethren

* I. *Timothy* iv. 14.

ſhould join, in token of ſubjection of the church to the paſtoral care of the miniſter. But at length it became a cuſtom, ſo early as before 1660, that, at the deſire of the church, the ordaining miniſters performed the whole, both conferred office-power on the paſtor elect, by the laying on of hands, and committed the church to his paſtoral charge; which, with the joint fellowſhip of the paſtors and churches, finiſhed the ordination. Thus ordinations were recovered into their right ſtate and order, the laſt century, and before lay-ordinations had wrought any evil. Thus office-power, by ſcripture-preſbyters, continued to be transfuſed through the clergy. I have reaſon and even aſſurance to believe, that there was no candidate ordained in New-England, before 1746,* but whoſe ordination may be traced to the Biſhops in England. I have found no inſtance to the contrary, although I have ſearched and examined all the ordinations of the firſt half century here, and moſt of them for the firſt hundred years. And as to the wild and enthuſiaſtick period between 1740 and 1750, though it gave birth to

* The ordination among the Separates began this year.

perhaps thirty little *ſeparate* congregations, yet ſome have diſſolved, others become regular, and the ten or a dozen now remaining, are more and more convinced of the duty of ſeeking ordination from among the ſtanding miniſters. And it is remarkable, that Mr. *Thomas Denniſon*, now living, aſſiſted, laid on hands, and gave the charge at the firſt ordination, in 1746, and at the three ſucceeding ordinations among the *ſeparates* in New-England, from whence all the ordinations in the churches of that deſcription have proceeded. And although in the firſt, but not in the others, he acted as a brother delegated by the church, and in the others as an elder of another church, yet it is remarkable, I ſay, that he himſelf had been ordained, in 1743, by one, whoſe ordination I have traced to the *Mathers*, and other *Boſton* miniſters, and through them up to the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and other Biſhops in *England*. It is probable the few ſeparate churches remaining, will, in time, become regular, by ſeeking ordinations among the paſtors of the ſtanding churches, where the ordinations are indubitable.

FOR, as I have ſaid, the ordination of our clergy is regular and ſcriptural, and

may be traced, in the line of preſbyters, up to the apoſtolick age: and ſo in general may the ordinations, in this line, through the whole Chriſtian world, eſpecially in the great diviſions of *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, and *Church* of *England*. So wonderfully has CHRIST preſerved the ſacerdotal or preſbyterian order in the church, that the ſucceſſion in this line is without a doubt. The firſt *ninety-four* miniſters who came over and ſettled New-England, Long-Iſland, and the Jerſeys, before 1669, and chiefly before 1640—Theſe, I ſay, were all educated in the Engliſh univerſities, and were ordained in England. Some of whom, as *Hooker*, *Davenport*, *Chauncy*, *Lee*, *Bulkley*, *Noyes*, *Norton*, were men of univerſal reading in theological literature, and were profoundly verſed in the writings of the Greek and Latin churches, in the councils and hiſtorians, the fathers, the writers of the middle ages, and the reformers—eſpecially thoſe miracles of human and divine learning, *Chauncy* and *Lee*. Of theſe ninety-four, one or two only were ordained by the puritans; as the fourteen, who came over after the ejection of 1662, were ordained by the Biſhops, or more

probably by the preſbyterians in the protectorate: all the reſt by the Biſhops. Theſe were ordained preſbyters by the Biſhops in England: particularly the Rev. Mr. *Richard Mather* was ordained a preſbyter by Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Cheſter* 1618.† The Biſhops did not intend to communicate ordaining powers; but they really intended to convey all the power of a ſcripture-preſbyter; and *by the ſcripture, we find this power conferred by the laying on of the hands of the preſbytery*; which demonſtrates that *Preſbyters*, as ſuch, were endued with the power of ordination.* If the ſucceſſion in the line of Biſhops, might have been interrupted at the reformation, yet not ſo in the line of preſbyters. Office-power has unqueſtionably been preſerved in England among preſbyters, not only to the times of its ſubjugation to *Rome* by *Auſtin* the monk, but ages before even to *Lucius*, according to venerable *Bede*. And indeed we have it more directly to the apoſtolick age, without going through *Rome*, for Biſhop *Jewel* aſſerts truly, that the ancient churches of England, were of Greek, that is, oriental derivation We have in this manner an hiſtorical evidence

† Life of Dr. *Increaſe Mather*. * 1. *Tim.* iv. 14.

and aſſurance, that the New-England ordinations in particular may be traced back to the holy Apoſtles.

THERE is not an inſtance in the apoſtolick age, of *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, being ſtated officers of more than a ſingle congregation. I riſque this hiſtorick aſſertion with the examination of the whole learned world; although I well know that, like the evidences of revelation, it has been examined a thouſand times, with different judgments. Every congregation, regularly and fully organized, had them: as appears from *Dionyſius* the Areopagite, and St. *Ignatius*. The ſucceſſion of Biſhops, who were only the firſt preſbyters, as well as of the other elders, was preſerved by ordinations performed by preſbyters in or out of a church. And though ordinations were uſually performed by three or more, yet if only one preſbyter laid on hands, it was valid. *Titus*, a ſingle elder, was left thus, to ordain elders in *Crete*. The church of *Alexandria*, founded by St. *Mark*, retained preſbyterian ordination, excluſive, for three hundred years, as appears from *Eutychius*, the patriarch there in the ninth century, who wrote the originals of that

church in *Arabick*, from which I have tranſlated the following extract, viz.

"THE ninth year of *Claudius Cæſar*, while *Mark*, the Evangeliſt, reſided at *Alexandria*—*Hananias* being converted to Chriſtianity, *Mark* baptized him, and conſtituted or ordained him chief father at *Alexandria*; and he became the firſt patriarch of *Alexandria*. *Mark*, the Evangeliſt, likewiſe conſtituted and ordained *twelve* (Caſhiſha*) preſbyters with *Hananias*; who ſhould abide with the patriarch: ſo that when there ſhould be a vacancy in the patriarchate, they ſhould elect one of the twelve preſbyters, upon whoſe head the other eleven ſhould impoſe their hands, bleſs him, and create him patriarch; and then elect ſome eminent perſon, and conſtitute him a preſbyter with themſelves, in the room of him who was made a patriarch; ſo that there ſhould always be twelve. Nor did this inſtitution concerning the preſbyters, ceaſe at *Alexandria*, that they ſhould create the patriarchs out of the twelve preſbyters, until the times of *Alexander*, patriarch at *Alexandria*, who was of the number of the three hundred and eigh-

* This title *Caſhies* is given to the Coptick clergy to this day.

teen" (at the council of *Nice*, A. D. 325.) "For he forbade the preſbyters afterwards to create a patriarch. And decreed, that upon the death of a patriarch, the Biſhops ſhould aſſemble and ordain a patriarch. And he further decreed that on a vacancy in the patriarchate, they ſhould elect, either from the twelve preſbyters, or from any other country, ſome eminent perſon, and create him patriarch. And thus evaniſhed the ancient inſtitution, by which the patriarch had been created by the preſbyters; and there ſucceeded in its place his decree concerning the creation of the patriarchs by the Biſhops. Thus from *Hananias* to the time of *Demetrius*, who was the eleventh patriarch at *Alexandria*, there was no Biſhop in the provinces of *Egypt*: nor did any patriarchs before him, conſtitute Biſhops. But he being made patriarch, conſtituted *three* Biſhops. And he was the firſt Alexandrine patriarch who made Biſhops. Upon the death of *Demetrius*, *Heraclas* became patriarch, and conſtituted *twenty* Biſhops."*

THUS, in this moſt valuable piece, or relict of eccleſiaſtical antiquity, we have preſerved and tranſmitted to us a ſpecimen and exemplar of a truly primitive

* *Eutychii*, origines eccl. Alexand.

and apoſtolick church. And herein we have a full proof, that while there were fifteen hundred *paſtors* or *Caſhiſha*, yet there were no Biſhops in Egypt in the poſteriour appropriate ſenſe of the *Latin* and *Greek* churches, until the fourth century: although the Chriſtians had by that time become ſo numerous in Egypt, that in the moſt ſevere and memorable perſecution under *Maximianus*, the predeceſſor of *Conſtantine* the great, one hundred thouſand Chriſtians were put to death there, and ſeven hundred thouſand ſold for ſlaves! a barbarity which ſatiated and glutted the malice of perſecution, and wrought a conviction in the whole Roman empire, of the impoſſibility of ſubduing Chriſtianity.

CORRESPONDENT to this idea of a church and its officers was the form particularly of the church of *Epheſus*, and the ſeven churches of *Aſia*, in the apoſtolick age; and the churches of New-England; wherein at their primitive inſtitutions, were originally two or more elders, beſides the paſtors and teachers, *i. e.* four preſbyters: although, having generally, yet not univerſally, dropped the ruling elders, they now more nearly reſemble

the church of *Philippi*, in having, at preſent, only Biſhops and Deacons. It might, however, be well to reſume the elderſhip as in the days of our anceſtors. There are about *eight hundred* Biſhops in the *United States*, among the *congregational*, *preſbyterian*, and *Dutch* churches.

AGREEABLE to this primitive idea of a church, was the Church of *Ireland* planted and formed, by that great light of Chriſtendom St. *Patrick*; who, (as *Titus* travelled *Crete* and ordained elders in every city) himſelf travelled *Ireland*, converted it to Chriſtianity, and conſtituted three hundred and fifty-five churches, and in each ordained a ſet of elders, with a Biſhop at their head;* as did *Mark* in *Alexandria*. Agreeable to that of the Iriſh poet in the Pſalter of *Caſhel*, which doubtleſs while it retains the hiſtorical ſentiments, looſes its beauty in tranſlation.

" The bleſſed *Patrick*, with his prieſtly hands,
" The right of conſecration did confer
" Upon the moſt religious of his clergy,
" *Three hundred and fifty-five* in number.
" He likewiſe, for the ſervice of the church,
" As many ſacred ſtructures did erect,
" And *preſbyters* ordained *three thouſand*."

HE began the converſion of *Ireland* about A. D. 432; and laboured in it until

* *Nonnius*, ſpeaking of St. *Patrick*, ſays, " Eccleſias 355 fundavit, epiſcopos ordinavit eodem numero; preſbyteros autem uſque ad tria millia ordinavit."——See *Nonnius*, and *Keating*.

his death about A. D. 490, Ætat. 122.* His eccleſiaſtical laws and canons continued there four hundred years after his death, until after the Daniſh invaſion. Although St. *Patrick* was born in *Wales*, yet he was educated and ordained in *Gaul*; and borrowed from thence the model of his churches. Which ſhews that the *Gallican Churches*, before their ſubjugation to *Rome*, as well as the Church of *England* in the time of the Biſhops and Monks, of *Glaſſenbury*, were ſimilar in their *eccleſiaſtical polity*, to the churches in *Egypt* before the council of *Nice*, to thoſe of *Ireland* in *Patrick's* day, to the preſent *Waldenſian reliquiæ*, or remnant of the *ancient Gallick* churches, and to the *Calviniſtick* churches of the Reformation.

IF the whole Chriſtian world were to revert back to this original and truly primitive model, how far more ſimple, uniform, and beautiful, and even glorious, would the church univerſal appear, than under the mutilated artificial forms of the pontifical or patriarchal conſtitutions, of the middle and preſent ages? And how far more agreeable to the eccleſiaſtical polity inſtituted and delivered by the holy

* *Keating*, p. 327, 348.

Apoſtles? May this be exhibited and diſplayed in the American churches. Of this it gives me joy to believe there is the greateſt proſpect. The initial revival of this primeval inſtitution is indeed already ſo well eſtabliſhed here, where the preſbyterians hold ſo great a proportion in the American republick, that there can be but little doubt, but that in the ordinary courſe of events, our increaſing and growing intereſt, without any interference with the other ſects, will at length aſcend to ſuch a magnitude, and become ſo great and reſpectable a part of Chriſtendom, as to command the attention, contemplation, and fraternal love of our brethren and fellow Chriſtians, of the church univerſal, and even of the world itſelf. And when the *ſet time to favour Zion* ſhall come in GOD's good and holy Providence, while Chriſtendom may no longer diſdain to adopt a reformation from us, the then newly goſpelized heathen may light up their candle at *America*. In this country, out of ſight of *mitres* and the *purple*, and removed from ſyſtems of corruption confirmed for ages, and ſupported by the ſpiritual Janizaries of an eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, aided and armed by the ſecular

power, RELIGION may be examined with the noble *Berean* freedom, the freedom of American-born minds: and *revelation*, both as to the true evangelical *doctrines*, and church *polity*, may be ſettled here, before they ſhall have undergone a thorough diſcuſſion, and been weighed with a calm and unprejudiced candour elſewhere. Great things are to be effected in the world before the Millennium, which I do not expect to commence under ſeven or eight hundred years hence; and perhaps the liberal and candid diſquiſitions in *America* are to be rendered extenſively ſubſervient to ſome of the moſt glorious deſigns of Providence, and particularly in the propagation and diffuſion of religion through the earth, in filling the whole earth with the knowledge of the glory of the LORD. A time will come when ſix hundred millions of the human race ſhall be ready to drop their *idolatry*, and all falſe religion, when Chriſtianity ſhall triumph over *ſuperſtition*, as well as *Deiſm*, *Gentiliſm*, and *Mahometiſm*. They will then ſearch all Chriſtendom for the beſt model, the pureſt exemplification of the Chriſtian church, with the feweſt human mixtures. And when GOD in his

Providence ſhalt convert the world, ſhould the newly Chriſtianized nations aſſume our form of religion; ſhould American miſſionaries be bleſſed to ſucceed in the work of Chriſtianizing the heathen, in which the Romaniſts and foreign proteſtants have very much failed, it would be an unexpected wonder, and a great honour to the *United States*. And thus the American republick, by illuminating the world with TRUTH and LIBERTY, would be exalted and made high among the nations in praiſe, and in name, and in honour. I doubt not this is the honour reſerved for us: I had almoſt ſaid in the ſpirit of prophecy, *the zeal of the* LORD *of Hoſts* will accompliſh this.

" So the dread ſeer in *Patmo's* waſte who trod,
" Led by the viſions of the guiding GOD,
" Saw the dim vault of heav'n its folds unbend;
" And gates and ſpires, and ſtreets and domes, deſcend
" Far down the ſkies; with ſuns and rainbows crown'd,
" The new form'd city lights the world around.*

HAVING ſhewn wherein conſiſts the proſperity of a STATE; and what reaſon we have to anticipate the glory of the American empire: I proceed to ſhew,

II. THAT her ſyſtem of dominion muſt receive its finiſhing from religion;

* Viſion of *Columb.* b. 2.

or, that from the diffuſion of virtue among the people of any community, would ariſe their greateſt ſecular happineſs; all which will terminate in this concluſion, that Holineſs ought to be the end of all civil government—*That thou mayeſt be an holy people unto the* LORD *thy* GOD.

ON the ſubject of RELIGION we might be conciſe and tranſient, if indeed a ſubject of the higheſt moment ought to be treated with brevity.

IT is readily granted that a ſtate may be very proſperous and flouriſhing without Chriſtianity: Witneſs the *Egyptian*, *Aſſyrian*, *Roman*, and *Chineſe* empires. But if there be a true religion, one would think that it might be at leaſt ſome additional glory. We muſt become a holy people in reality, in order to exhibit the experiment never yet fully made in this unhallowed part of the univerſe, whether ſuch a people would be the happieſt on earth. It would greatly conduce to this, if MOSES and AARON, if the MAGISTRACY and PRIESTHOOD, ſhould co-operate, and walk together in union and harmony. The political effort of the preſent day, through moſt of the *United States*, is to diſunite,

divide, and ſeparate them, through fear, leſt the *United States*, like the five vice-royſhips of New-Spain, ſhould be entangled and oppreſſed with the ſpiritual domination of European and Aſiatick hierarchies. As if, by the title of miniſter or paſtor, we might not as well be reminded of the miniſters of *Holland* and *Geneva*, or the mild and peaceable paſtors of the primitive church, as of the domineering prelates and other haughty intriguing dignitaries of the *Romiſh* church. Hence AARON is ſpurned at a diſtance, and the LEVITES are beheld with ſhy contempt, as a uſeleſs, burdenſome, dangerous tribe; and in ſome of the ſtates, for the only ſin of being prieſts of the Moſt High GOD, they are inhibited all civil officers, and to a great degree, disfranchiſed of their civil immunities and rights of citizenſhip. I thank my GOD for this ordering of his holy providence (for I wiſh the clergy never to be veſted with civil power) while I am conſidering the ſpirit and diſpoſition of the publick towards the church of GOD, indicated by ſuch events. A general ſpirit reigns againſt the moſt liberal and generous eſtabliſhments in religion; againſt the civil magiſtrates encouraging or hav-

ing any thing more to do about religion, than to keep the civil peace among contending ſects: As if this was all that is to be done for religion by the friends of JESUS. And hence, in deſignating to the magiſtracy and offices of government, it begins to be a growing idea that it is mighty indifferent, forſooth, not only whether a man be of this or the other religious ſect, but whether he be of any religion at all: and that truly deiſts, and men of indifferentiſm as to all religion, are the moſt ſuitable perſons for civil office, and moſt proper to hold the reins of government; and that to prevent partiality in governours, and emulation among the ſects, it is wiſe to conſign government over into the hands of thoſe who, *Gallio* like, have no religion at all. This is Machiavellian wiſdom and policy! And hence examples are frequently adduced, of men diſtinguiſhed truly for *deiſm*, perhaps libidinous morals, and every vice, yet of great abilities, it is ſaid, great civilians, lawyers, phyſicians, warriours, governours, patriots, politicians: While as great or greater and more numerous characters, in the ſame departments, a *Thuanus*, a *Grotius*, a *Paul*, of *Venice*, a Sir *Henry Wotton*, a Sir *Peter*

King, a *Selden*, a *Newton*, a *Boyle*, thoſe miracles of wiſdom and friends to religion and virtue, are paſſed by with tranſient coolneſs and neglect. I wiſh we had not to fear that a neglect of religion was coming to be the road to preferment. It was not ſo here in our fathers days.

SHALL the Moſt High ſend down TRUTH into this world from the world of light and truth, and ſhall the rulers of this world be afraid of it? Shall there be no intrepid DANIELS?—great in magiſtracy, great in religion! How great was that holy man, that learned and pious civilian, when he ſhone in the ſupreme triumvirate, at the head of an empire of one hundred and twenty provinces—venerable for political wiſdom, venerable for religion!

IF men, not merely nominally chriſtians, but of real religion and ſincere piety, joined with abilities, were advanced and called up to office in every civil department, how would it countenance and recommend virtue? But, alas! is there not too much Laodiceaniſm in this land? Is not JESUS in danger of being wounded in the houſe of his friends? Nay, have we gone already ſuch lengths in declenſion, that if

even the Holy Redeemer himſelf, and his Apoſtles, were to reappear among us, while unknown to be ſuch, and importune the publick government and magiſtracy of theſe ſtates, to become nurſing fathers to the church; is it not to be feared that ſome of the ſtates, through timidity and fearfulneſs of touching religion, would excuſe themſelves, and diſmiſs the holy meſſengers, the heavenly viſitants, with coldneſs and neglect; though importuning the ſpouſe with an—*Open to me my beloved, my ſiſter, my dove.*

BUT after the preſent period of deiſm and ſceptical indifferentiſm in religion, of timidity and irreſolution in the cauſe of the great *Emmanuel*, perhaps there may ariſe a ſucceſſion of civil magiſtrates, who will not be aſhamed of the croſs of CHRIST, nor of patronizing his holy religion; with a generous catholiciſm and expanded benevolence towards all of every denomination, who love our LORD JESUS CHRIST in ſincerity and truth; patronizing it, I repeat, not with the inſidious views of a *Hutchinſonian* policy, but from a rational and firm belief and love of evangelical truth. *Zion's* friends will rejoice in *Zion's* welfare: And the *religious* as well as

civil patriot will ſhine in the faces of the future *Moſeſes* and *Joſhuas* of this land. So ſhone it in the firſt Governour WINTHROP, and ſo ſhineth it in a WASHINGTON. Yea, I glory in believing and knowing, that there are many now in the publick magiſtracy of this and the other ſtates, who feel with that illuſtrious and moſt excellent Governour, upon whom reſted much of the ſpirit of *Samuel* and *David*, and of *Jehoſaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Joſiah*, I mean *Nehemiah* the *Tirſhata*, who, with *Moſes*, eſteemed the reproaches of CHRIST greater riches than the treaſures of Egypt, who was of ſo pious, ſo noble, ſo patriotick a ſpirit, ſuch a lover of his country and the true religion, that he preferred the very *duſt of Zion* to the gardens of *Perſia*, and the broken walls of *Jeruſalem* to the palaces of *Shuſhan*.

WHENEVER religion is erected on the ruins of civil government; and when civil government is built on the ruins of religion, both are ſo far eſſentially wrong. The church has never been of any political detriment here, for it has never been veſted with any civil or ſecular power in New-England: Although it is certain, that civil dominion was but the ſecond motive,

religion the primary one, with our anceſtors, in coming hither and ſettling this land. It was not ſo much their deſign to eſtabliſh religion for the benefit of the ſtate, as civil government for the benefit of religion, and as ſubſervient, and even neceſſary towards the peaceable enjoyment and unmoleſted exerciſe of religion—of that religion, for which they fled to theſe ends of the earth. An inſtitution is not made for the laws, but the laws for the inſtitution. I am narrating an hiſtorical fact, not giving a poſition or principle, which by ſhrewd politicians may be abuſed to juſtify ſpiritual tyranny, and to ſupport the claims of the pontificate over all the civil ſtates, kingdoms and empires in Chriſtendom.

THE American *Nehemiah*, the opulent and pious Governour WINTHROP I. and the other firſt magiſtrates of the ſeveral New-England republicks, were men of ſingular wiſdom and exemplary piety. And, GOD be thanked, the ſenatorial *aſſembly* of this happieſt of all the *United States*, ſtill emboſoms ſo many *Phinehaſes* and *Zorobabels*, ſo many religious patriots, the friends of JESUS and his holy religion: And that the *Meſſiah's* cauſe is here accom-

panied with *civil government* and the *prieſthood*—alluſively, *the two olive trees upon the right of the candleſtick* (the churches) *and upon the left, the two golden branches, which through the two golden pipes,* Moſes *and* Aaron, *empty the golden oil out of themſelves,** and diffuſe their ſalutary influence of order and happineſs through the community.

As to nominal Chriſtianity, I have no doubt but that it will be upheld for ages in theſe ſtates. Through the liberty enjoyed here, all religious ſects will grow up into large and reſpectable bodies. But the congregational and preſbyterian denomination, however hitherto deſpiſed, will, by the bleſſing of heaven, continue to hold the greateſt figure in *America*; and, notwithſtanding all the fruitleſs labours and exertions to proſelyte us to other communions, become more numerous than the whole collective body of our fellow proteſtants in *Europe*. The whole proſelytiſm of New-England in particular, for ſixty or ſeventy years paſt, has not exceeded a few thouſands, while our augment in that term, by natural increaſe, has been half a million. The future difference in our favour will be far greater,

* *Zech.* iv. 11.

even admitting a tenfold increaſe of proſelytiſm. We anticipate, with pleaſure, the growth and multiplication of our churches. GOD grant that we may not, like the ſeven churches of Aſia, have a name to live, while we are dead. Happy will it be for us, ſhould we become a holy people, zealous of good works. For it is undoubtedly the will of heaven, and eſpecially after the recent ſalvations of the Moſt High, that we ſhould be *a holy people unto the* LORD *our* GOD.

IT is greatly to be wiſhed that theſe principles of our common Chriſtianity, might be found in general reception among *all the churches* of theſe ſtates:

THE trinity in unity, in the one undivided eſſence of the Great JEHOVAH.

THE ſacred Scriptures are of divine inſpiration.

IN the immenſe univerſe, two little ſyſtems of intelligences, or orders of being, have lapſed; and that unhappily we have the diſhonour of being one of them.

THE ſecond perſon of the co-eternal trinity, having aſſumed human nature, made a real atonement for ſin, and by his vicarious obedience and ſufferings,

exhibited that righteouſneſs and vicarious merit, by which alone we are forgiven and juſtified.

THE Holy Ghoſt is equally a divine perſon with the father and the ſon; ſharing with them divine, ſupreme, equal and undivided honours.

TRUE virtue conſiſts in a conformity of heart and life to the divine law; which is as obligatory upon Chriſtians, as if eternal life was ſuſpended on perfect obedience.

THE internal principle of holineſs eſſentially conſiſts in DIVINE LOVE, a diſintereſted affection for moral excellency, a delight in the beauty and glory of the divine character, that is, the ſupreme LOVE OF GOD. And connected with, and iſſuing from this, is a joyful acquieſcence in his will, a rejoicing in his ſovereignty, and univerſal dominion.

WHILE ſalvation and pardon is of free grace, the retributions of eternity will be according to our works.

WHENEVER I find theſe principles, with others connected with them, and the *real* belief of them evinced by an amiable life, there I judge the eſſentials of Chriſtianity to be found, and thither my charity and

benevolence extends, with equal ardour and ſincerity, be the religious denomination as it may. Of theſe, the doctrines of the DIVINITY of the Lord JESUS, and his real vicarious ATONEMENT, are the moſt important, the JACHIN and BOAZ, the pillar truths of the goſpel, the *articuli ſtantis et cadentis eccleſiæ.*

THIS was the ſyſtem of theology brought over from the other ſide of the flood, by our pious forefathers, now with GOD. The more this is realized in a ſtate, the more will its felicity be advanced. For certainly the morals of Chriſtianity are excellent. It enjoins obedience to magiſtracy, juſtice, harmony, and benevolence, among fellow citizens; and what is more it points out immortality to man. Politicians, indeed, uſually conſider religion only as it may affect and ſubſerve civil purpoſes: And hence it is mighty indifferent to them, what the ſtate of religion be, provided they can *ride in the whirlwind, and direct the ſtorm.* Nothing is more common than to ſee them, in every country, making uſe of ſects for their own ends, whom they, in their hearts, deſpiſe and ridicule with ſupreme contempt. Not ſo the Chriſtian patriot, who, from his

heart, wiſhes the advancement of Chriſtianity, much leſs for the civil good than for the eternal welfare of immortal ſouls.

WE err much, if we think the only or chief end of civil government is *ſecular happineſs*. Shall immortals, illuminated by *Revelation*, entertain ſuch an opinion? GOD forbid! Let us model civil ſociety with the adoption of *divine inſtitutions*, ſo as ſhall beſt ſubſerve the training up and diſciplining innumerable millions for the more glorious ſociety of the church of the firſt born! Animated with the ſublime ideas which Chriſtianity infuſes into a people, we ſhall be led to conſider the *true religion* as the higheſt glory of a civil polity. The Chriſtian inſtitution ſo excelled in glory, that the Moſaick loſt all its glory. So the moſt perfect ſecular polity, though very excellent, would loſe all its glory, when compared with a *kingdom wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs*, a community wherein the religion of the divine JESUS reigns in vigour and perfection.

LET us inſtitute a compariſon of religions in three different polities, which will ſufficiently repreſent the ſtate of the whole world. And may that ſpirit, which juſtly ſprings from ſuch a compariſon, ani-

mate all, whether in humble life, or in the moſt elevated ſtations among mankind. We may conſider three contiguous empires of the ſame civil polity, all alike as to the ſocial virtues, laws of juſtice, benevolence, and the morals of civil ſociety—for I mean to inſtitute a very liberal and candid compariſon. On the one of theſe ſhall be eſtabliſhed the *idolatry of the* BONZAS, as a ſpecimen of all the idolatrous religions: *Deiſm* ſhall cover the ſecond; and of the unidolatrous religions, I will ſelect for the third, not the *Mahometan*, not the *Jewiſh*, but the *Chriſtian*, in its pureſt *apoſtolick form*.

AS to the firſt, the ſpecies of idolatry is indifferent, whether *ancient* or *modern*, that of the *Druids* or *Zoroaſter*, of the *Bramins* or *Romaniſts*, or laſtly, that of the great LAMA, of *Potola*, which is the moſt extenſive, as well as moſt ſplendid, religion on earth, being the religion of one third of the human race. Let us ſelect the laſt: It has for its baſis, in common with all other idolatrous ſyſtems, adoration and worſhip, of ſome kind or other, to an hierarchy of celeſtial ſpirits as our interceſſours and protectors under the Supreme GOD. Theſe have been in all

ages, the MAHUZZIM of *Daniel*; who predicts the apoſtacy of the church to the worſhip of *Mahuzzim* departed ſouls, inviſible ſpirits as interceſſours with GOD. This is the real baſis of all idolatry, ancient and modern. Theſe were the *Baalim* and the *Heroes*. And it is juſt as indifferent, whether we ſacrifice and pray to *Hercules* or to St. *Paul*, to the thirty thouſand gods of *Athens*, or the ſaints of the calender, as advocates with the Father of the Univerſe. Now let the inhabitants of an empire be reſolved into religious aſſemblies and convocations, for the ſacrifical worſhip of theſe inferiour divinities, with a ſplendid *ceremonial* and *prieſthood*. Who does not ſee, in theſe enlightened realms, that all this is religious deluſion, a tranſfer of worſhip to the creature from the Creator—who may well ſay, *who hath required this at your hands?* If it be ſaid that ſupreme worſhip is not rendered to the ſaints of the pontifical canonization! So neither was it by the Ten Tribes, all of whom, but eight thouſand, kiſſed the calves and worſhipped the numerous *Baalim* Heroes, or demi-gods. Dr. *Middleton* has ſhewn that the ſpecifical worſhip, with a change of names only, is paid at *Rome*

to the modern canonized ſaints, as to the deified heroes of the ancient Romans and Greeks. The laſt effort of the *philoſophers* againſt Chriſtianity, was in the time of *Julian*; and they ſubordinated the whole ſyſtem of Ethnical worſhip to the worſhip of the Supreme Being, aſſerting, that as Chriſtians acknowledge the miniſtry of angels, ſo they held with the miniſtry of genii, that of deceaſed and departed ſpirits, who muſt be ſuppoſed to retain a peculiar affection for their families, cities and kingdoms on earth; eſpecially for thoſe who ſhould have referred themſelves to their protection and interceſſion with the *Deus O. M.* the ſupreme GOD. Thus they defended themſelves upon the very ſame reaſoning, as that upon which the Chriſtian idolatry is defended. We are directed to aſk the prayers of our fellow Chriſtians on earth; and by parity why ſhould we not aſk their prayers in heaven, where they muſt be ſuppoſed to have far greater influence? And if we are directed to treat one another, and eſpecially great benefactors of our country, with publick reſpect while here, why not by parity continue this reſpect and the ſymbols of honour to them in heaven? What a beau-

tiful gradation is there, it is ſaid, in the Ethnical and Chriſtian worſhip or aſcription of gratitude to inferiour and powerful interceſſours? And how does it tend to keep alive in our minds and impreſs them with glorious ideas of that grand, auguſt, and beautiful ſyſtem of agency and ſubordinate adminiſtrations, in the great government of the one Great Supreme? How beautiful the ſubordinate mediation of *angels* and *ſaints*, under the all-comprehenſive mediation of the bleſſed JESUS, through whom all worſhip, adoration and homage is to aſcend to the Sovereign of the Univerſe! Let us be aſſured that the Romaniſts think themſelves to have great reaſon for the adoration of the ſuperiour powers.

ADJACENT to this, an empire of the ſame excellent conſtitution, ſhall be overſpread with DEISM excluſively. And to give the idea the moſt candid extent, perhaps beyond the deſires of a *Tindal*, or even of a *Shaftſbury*, the amiable *Confucius* of deiſm, not to mention the ſmaller and more deſultory geniuſſes of a *Hume*, or a *Voltaire*:—I ſay, to give the faireſt idea of perfect deiſm, let the people of this empire be reſolved into occaſional, but not

too frequent worſhipping aſſemblies, for adoring the GOD of Nature, under the direction of the illuminated brethren; and alſo to thank GOD for his goodneſs in this life, and for a certain proſpect of a bleſſed immortality, if there ſhould be any; when, perhaps ſome noble minds, ſpirits of elevated and ſublime genius, of bold, refined, and independent ſentiment, might deſcant upon the common principles of ſocial virtue and benevolence. I have certainly done juſtice to deiſm; *although we hear nothing of pardoning mercy*, becauſe truly we need none—ſuch being the excellency and dignity of man, who, as *Phocelides* ſaith, is *the image of* GOD, that he well anſwers the end of exiſtence, merits reward, and muſt hereafter be happy under the all-comprehending, the moſt benevolent adminiſtration of the univerſal FATHER. How pure and ſublime is natural religion!

CHRISTIANITY ſhall be the eſtabliſhment of the third territorial empire. And to preclude the ſectarian prejudications from diſturbing the clearneſs and calmneſs of the mental perception, let any one overſpread it with the BIBLE Chriſtianity, according to his own idea. I for myſelf

might overſpread the whole with the congregational churches; being not ſimply ſatisfied, but ſure, from a thorough perluſtration of all eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that they are nearly apoſtolical as to *doctrine* and *polity*. And let this juſtice further be done, that religion ſhall reign in the hearts and lives of the people at large; and that it be the great and harmonious endeavour of the ruling characters and influencial perſonages through the ſtate, both by example and precept, to ſupport ſuch a reign of virtue and holineſs. All that is valuable and truly excellent in the other empires, is embraced; and in addition, we have diſcoveries, and offers, and aſſurances, great in the confeſſion of all men, if true, and glorious beyond deſcription, infinitely momentous indeed, and infinitely ſurpaſſing what is to be found in all the mythologies or moral ſyſtems around the globe. But I do not enlarge.

TEN thouſand myriads of ages hence, in which of theſe three, would the *civilian*, the *patriot*, the man of *religion*, wiſh to have been found? In which to have acted his part?—for moſt certainly they are not indifferent—and in advancing its glory, to have exerted the talents and ab-

tivity, with which the Author of Nature had bleſſed him?

WHICH of theſe governments is it probable would moſt contribute to the ſecular welfare, and be attended with the greateſt dignity, and even the greateſt worldly ſplendour? But above all, which moſt ſubſervient to eternity and its momentous concerns? In which, as a ſchool of inſtitution and diſcipline, ſhould we enjoy the happieſt advantages for immortality? Which of theſe empires would be the favourite of JESUS? Or is he indeed an unconcerned ſpectator of human affairs? If not, why ſhould we doubt or heſitate, to give the preference to the *Chriſtian republick?* If revelation be not true, it does us no hurt: We are as ſafe and as well off as others, having all their *moral virtue.* But if revelation be true, it is *true excluſively*, and therefore to be attended to at peril. This is no proof; but it is a reaſon for exciting our attention to its evidence, both in *miracles* and *prophecy*, as well as in a certain *internal beauty and glory* opened by heaven upon a benighted world:—Peradventure with other happy millions we may be alſo bleſſed to perceive it to be, not a *cunningly de-*

viſed fable (as was conceived by that impious pontiff, who could exclaim *Eheu! quantum Lucrifecit nobis hæc fabula Chriſti?)* but the wiſdom and power of GOD, to have iſſued from the fountain of unerring wiſdom and conſummate benevolence. Which will be the caſe, the happy fact, the moment we perceive the evidence of the one ſingle fact of the RESURRECTION OF CHRIST, after his undoubted crucifixion:—a fact teſtified by eye-witneſſes, and ſupported by evidence (preſerved in memoirs, which have come down to us with greater authenticity than *Cicero*, *Juſtin*, and *Tacitus)* evidence, I ſay, overlooked indeed, but never overthrown, and which at once will ſupport the whole glorious ſuperſtructure of Chriſtianity.

BUT I need pardon that I ſhould inſtitute this compariſon in a Chriſtian aſſembly, and in a country where we ſeem to be in no danger of idolatry, and where, GOD be thanked, Deiſts are very thinly ſown, although, like another ſet of men among us, of illaudable and invidious deſcription, they magnify themſelves into legions.

I HAVE ſuppoſed all religions equal as to virtue: and that civil virtue is the only end of civil ſociety: but I muſt reſume

both theſe miſtakes. Vices and every ſpecies of wickedneſs are found, more or leſs, to enter into the eſſence of all religions, except that of divine revelation. If Chriſtians are wicked, and even ſhould they ſurpaſs the Gentiles in vice, their religion never taught them ſo. But the very inſtitution of the feſtivals of the ancient gods and goddeſſes directly taught the moſt impure obſcenities and libidinous revellings. And this is continued to this day in the Eaſt-Indies. An Indian *Bramin* ARUNASALEM, a Pandarum or Prieſt of *Tarmaburam*, was converted to Chriſtianity in 1765: upon which the college of Pandarums ſent him a letter to reclaim him. Too long, ſays he, in his reply, too long have I been a witneſs to publick lewdneſs in the ſacrifices and worſhip of your pagodas or temples. My conſcience told me theſe inſtitutions could not come from a pure and holy GOD. O my GOD! how do I lament that I have been twenty-eight years thine enemy. No abſolution, no ſacrifice of *Lingam* can waſh away ſin and purify the ſoul: the blood, ſufferings and ſacrifice of JESUS *Nadar* the Redeemer, alone cleanſe from all ſin.*

* In an account of his converſion, written by himſelf, he ſays, "I was much ſcandalized by the profane and immoral ſervice

THIS, with a ſurvey of the ſtate of man in all ages, may ſhew us that *Ethnick* morals do not merit the high encomiums,

performed in our Pagodas. At *Supramaniam*, a famous Pagoda three leagues from *Goa*, the image of a ſerpent with ſeven heads is worſhipped: At a certain feſtival, three girls of the moſt beautiful ſhape danced before him, ſtark naked, in ſight of an innumerable company of ſpectators. At the ſacrifice of *Satty*, men and women eat and drink together, and afterwards mix promiſcuouſly. Daily are entertained in our Pagodas the dancing girls, which are profeſſed proſtitutes, who ſing, at morning and evening ſacrifices, the impureſt ſongs, and offer in their Pagodas, with the obſceneſt language, their perſons to the ſpectators, and invite them to lie with them.

"All this the feelings of my heart told me could not come from the eternal GOD, whom reaſon, and the ſtill voice of Nature proclaim to be a holy being.—However, ſince our whole nation is zealouſly attached to this worſhip, I ſtifled the clamours of my own conſcience, thinking that if it was really wrong, ſo many thouſands of people could not follow it.

"When I viſited you (the Rev. Mr. *Hutteman*, Daniſh miſſionary) and heard the Wedam, religion of *Parabara Weſtu* (JEHOVAH) the miſts of my underſtanding began to clear up, and all that you ſaid of the perfections of GOD, and the manner to worſhip him, was immediately approved by the ſilent voice of reaſon and conſcience. All the doctrines which your Wedam propoſeth, lead directly to the honour of the holy GOD: may his name be bleſſed forever! It deſcribeth man as he really is, ſinner and guilty; it rejects the unavailing atonements performed by a miſerable, ſinful wretch.—The holy and dreadful ſufferings of JESUS, Mattiaſter (reconciler) have attoned for the violated rights of the divine government.—Your Wedam enables a man to curb and ſubdue his paſſions—and makes a man in love with holineſs and the ſpirit of JESUS. It containeth the cleareſt revelation of life and immortality, and ſuch grand promiſes, that are more than ſufficient to bear us up in the courſe of a Chriſtian, virtuous life, notwithſtanding the diſcouragements from a wicked world.——It is, therefore, my firm reſolution to embrace this Wedam, to live and die in it. I have weighed the Malabar religion againſt it; but, alas! the former is too light.

"PARABARA WESTU, creator of the univerſe, have mercy upon me! oh how do I bewail that I have been twenty eight years* thine enemy!—JESUS NADAR, redeeming LORD, im-

* Born 1737—Converted 1765.

the rapturous eulogies, which ſome have given them. Nor are *deiſtical* morals very promiſing. A world, a univerſe full of

pute thy blood unto me, and procure me the forgiveneſs of my ſins. Thou ſpirit of holineſs, ſanctify my heart, and form me into the likeneſs of the bleſſed JESUS. Amen."

Whereupon the college of Pandarums, at *Tarmaburam*, wrote him a very flattering and expoſtulary letter. In which, among other things, they ſay, "It is needleſs to write many words to a man of your underſtanding.—Remember, *Arunaſalem*, your change is like a king turning Pareiar. What have you wanted among us? Had you not honour and ſubſiſtence ſufficient?—Conſider, *Arunaſalem*, the noble blood of the TONDAMAR from whence you ſprang.——The moment you receive this letter, return again to this place. May *Siwen* give ye underſtanding."

To which the Chriſtian convert returned this anſwer: "The grace of Parabara Weſtu, who is JEHOVAH, the living GOD, the very bleſſed creator and preſerver of the univerſe, fill the ſouls of all Pandarums at Tamaburam. I have received your letter, and have read the contents with true compaſſion." And then renders his reaſons, and adds—"My heart melts within me. I weep over you. Fourteen years have I been witneſs of your infamous worſhip in your Pagodas: and I am in my conſcience convinced, that you are in the road that leads directly to hell and eternal ruin. How holy, how majeſtick is GOD deſcribed in the Wedam of the Chriſtians!——Come, my dear friends, and worſhip, with me the GOD that made you. Be not deceived, to expiate your ſin by waſhing and ſacrifice of Lingam: the Chriſtians alone have a ſacrifice worthy of GOD. When I think on your blindneſs, my heart pitieth you. You know the integrity of my life; and you never heard ſcandal of me. Could you then think that I would renounce the religion of my fathers, without conviction of its falſehood and dreadful tendency? The GOD of infinite compaſſion hath delivered me, wretched ſinner, out of Satan's captivity. Your promiſes of honour and riches, touch me not. I have the hopes of an everlaſting kingdom. You alſo can inherit it when you will repent.——Turn to the living GOD. So writeth *Arunaſalem*, formerly a Pandarum, but now a diſciple of the bleſſed JESUS."

Who does not love this ſincere, this amiable convert? Who does not wiſh that his example may be of extenſive influence among the hundred millions of India?——See the letters of the Daniſh miſſionaries, 1765.

Rocheſters and *Cheſterfields*, what would it be? Characters, which may blaze their moment in an earthly court, but can never ſhine in the court above.

MODERN deiſts—but why do I ſay modern, for the very fraternity is but of yeſterday—the deiſts have more lately improved and adopted *ſuicide* and *fate* into their ſyſtem; holding it in common with the Bramins of *Aſia*, and the aulick chieftans in *Africa*. We might trace the matter of ſuicide through a tract of ages, from *Calenus* the Indian philoſopher, who from the funeral pile laughed at *Alexander* the Great, to that ſublime genius, that deiſtical madman, who lately "ſtole away" out of life, with his wife and four children at once, "cloſing the eyes of ſix perſons, out of perfect humanity, and the moſt endearing fondneſs and friendſhip"*

SIR *William Temple*, *Sale*, and other learned deiſts, fond of depreciating Chriſtian virtue by compariſons, have extolled and celebrated the *Mahometan*, *Chineſe*, and other oriental morals, as far ſuperiour to the Chriſtian. But the learned hiſtoriographer Principal *Robertſon* aſſerts with

* *William Beadle*, who profeſſing himſelf a deiſt, on the 11th December 1782, cut the throats of his wife and four children, and then piſtoled himſelf.

hiſtorick verity, that upon the compariſon of *Europe*, in particular in its *Gentile* and *Chriſtian* ages, her morality will appear to have been greatly improved and meliorated, and that the Ethnick morals fell far below the Chriſtian. While we have to confeſs and lament the vice rampant in Chriſtendom, we have reaſon to believe that the more Chriſtianity prevails in a country, civil ſociety will be more advanced; ferocious manners will give way to the more mild, liberal, juſt and amiable manners of the goſpel.

BE it granted that in all countries are to be found men of integrity, honour, benevolence, and excellent morals, even where vice has a prevalent reign, to the greateſt exceſſes of a general licentiouſneſs; yet ſuppoſing a community, a kingdom, a world overſpread with ſuch characters, with the fineſt morals of a *Socrates*, or a *Confucius*, what would be the moral ſtate of ſuch a country, in compariſon with one overſpread with the reign of the Chriſtian morals? I mean in perfection.

HOW much ſoever we may admire the morals of *Plato* or *Epectetus*, they are not to be compared with thoſe taught by *Mo-*

ſes and the divine JESUS. Nor are we to conceive that civil virtue is the only end of civil government. As the end of GOD's government is his declarative glory in the holineſs and happineſs of the univerſe; ſo all civil government ought to ſubſerve the ſame end. The moſt eſſential intereſts of rational beings are neglected, when their ſecular welfare only is conſulted. If therefore we defend and plead for Chriſtianity, from its ſecular and civil utility only, and leave it here, we diſhonour religion by robbing it of half, nay its greateſt glories. It ſerves an higher purpoſe. For although it ſubſerves the civil welfare infinitely beyond the morals of deiſm and idolatry, yet it alſo provides for the intereſts of eternity, which no other religion does. It opens to us the moſt grand and ſublime diſcoveries concerning GOD, reconciliation with him, and the re-union of this lapſed world with the immenſe univerſe. Diſcoveries momentous and intereſting beyond conception! Without which we are left to perfect incertitude, if not totally in the dark with reſpect to eternity and its vaſt concerns.

SHOULD we have recourſe to the *goodneſs of* GOD; yet of all beings, angels

would think, that man ſhould be the laſt, to reaſon from the benevolence and goodneſs of the univerſal parent, to the impoſſibility of his offſpring being involved in future ill, when from thence we might equally reaſon againſt the exiſtence of preſent ill. If ſome diſtant ſeraph, who never knew nor heard of ill, ſhould reaſon thus, it would be no marvel, perhaps; but that we, with all our ſins and ſufferings about us, ſhould go into ſuch reaſonings, is the height of folly, the abſurdity of abſurdities! And why ſhould that infinite goodneſs preſerve the numerous millions that die in finiſhed, though half puniſhed vice, that did not preſerve the lives of thoſe upon whom the tower of *Siloam* fell—who did not avert the deſolations of *Liſbon*, *Naples*, *Herculaneum* and *Palermo*? Caſt thine eyes thither, O man, *remember the battle*, and *do no more*.*

IF inſtead of reaſoning from the works and word of GOD, and thus aſcending upwards into Deity, "*we take the high priori road*, and reaſon downwards until we doubt of GOD."† If by inductive reaſonings from the perfections of GOD, to what *can* and what *cannot* be, we ſhould among

* *Job* xli. 8. † *Pope.*

other things boldly conclude a TRINITY, and the incarnation of the eternal WORD abſurd nullities, and yet it ſhould appear in another ſtate, that a crucified JESUS ſits at the right hand of the Majeſty on high; how would theſe mighty ſenſible characters, theſe fine geniuſes, theſe ſublime, theſe fooliſh reaſoners be diſappointed? May I be forgiven a very earneſt ſolicitude here?—having myſelf paſſed through the cloudy darkſome valley of ſcepticiſm, and ſtood on the precipice, from whence I was in danger of taking a juvenile leap into the irrecoverable depths of deiſm. For ſo rare are the FORBESES and the JENNINGSES, the inſtances of emancipated real infidels, that *nulla veſtigia retrorſum*,* may be inſcribed on the temple of deiſm. Knowing theſe dangers, I pity from my heart, and almoſt bleed at every pore, for thoſe who are caught in the vortex, and are captivated with the wily, ſatirical, deluſory, and deficient reaſonings of deiſm. Elevated with the pride of mental enlargement, of a ſuppoſed untrammelled underſtanding, they aſcend aloft above the clouds of prejudices into the Piſgah heights, from whence they fancy that they ſee all *relig-*

* No return from hence.

ions the ſame, that is, equally nothing but prieſtcraft and artificial errour. Whereupon they compliment themſelves as endowed with a ſuperiority of diſcernment in morals, with high ſenſibility, ſentimental and liberal ideas, and charm themſelves with other fine ſelf-applied diction, which in truth only clothes the *tædium*, the wearineſs of half diſcuſſed unfiniſhed inquiries; or perhaps the hope that at worſt the want of certain knowledge may paſs with GOD, if there is any, as a ſufficient excuſe for ſome of the doubtful levities of life.

BUT errours in judgment, it is ſaid, will be of no account with GOD. In ten thouſand matters they may not. We may trifle on many things; but on the things that reſpect eternity, the things of religion, it is too ſolemn, too dangerous to trifle. Although moſt religions are falſe and ridiculous, there may however be one, which we muſt renounce or trifle with at our peril. For if revelation be true, as moſt aſſuredly it is, it is in JESUS only that we have eternal life. Infidels, and thoſe exceſſively benevolent Chriſtians, who conſider all religions alike and equally ridiculous, do well, in their calm-

er moments to ponder thoſe words of the eternal Judge, *John* iii. 36. *He that believeth on the Son hath everlaſting life: and he that believeth not on the Son, ſhall not ſee life; but the* WRATH OF GOD ABIDETH ON HIM. And alſo thoſe words, *Math.* x. 33. WHOSOEVER SHALL DENY ME BEFORE MEN, HIM WILL I ALSO DENY BEFORE MY FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN. Where then will a *Judas* and a *Beadle* appear? Step forth, thou *Herbert*, the father of deiſm; come hither ye *Bolingbrokes*, *Tindals*, *Collinſes*, *Humes*, *Voltaires*, with all your ſhining abilities; and that diſappointed group of ſelf-opinionated deniers of the LORD *that bought them*, with that cloud of deluded followers, who *would not that I ſhould reign over them*—evaniſh from my preſence, with all the light of your boaſted wiſdom, into the blackneſs of darkneſs forever and ever! On what principles can the deſpiſed, the amiable JESUS withhold or recede from ſo awful a ſentence, ſo tremendous a denunciation!

HOW infinitely happier they, who, believing the *record which* GOD *giveth of his Son*, have received him, and are become the ſons of GOD? Is it nothing, is it a ſmall thing to be initiated into the glori-

ous idea of GOD and the Trinity revealed in the ſcriptures, to contemplate the hierarchy and government of the univerſe and the high dignity of that moſt illuſtrious perſonage, who is our *Interceſſour*, *Advocate* and *Sovereign?* Shall this light come into the world, and we neglect it? And ſhall it be ſaid that theſe views do not animate a ſublimer virtue than the motives taken from civil ſociety? Shall the conſideration of being citizens of a little ſecular kingdom or community, be equally animating with thoſe taken from our being citizens of the auguſt monarchical republick of the univerſe! But I muſt deſiſt, with only obſerving that the *United States* are under peculiar obligations to become a holy people unto the LORD our GOD, on account of the late eminent deliverance, ſalvation, peace and glory, with which he hath now crowned our new ſovereignty. *Deut.* iv. 34.

I HAVE thus finiſhed the two heads upon which I at firſt propoſed to diſcourſe. And I ſhall not further treſpaſs upon the patience of this very honourable auditory, by an application: but cloſe with the addreſſes uſual upon this anniverſary ſolemnity.

To Governour TRUMBULL.

I BEG leave in the firſt place, with the greateſt honour, the moſt profound and dutiful reſpect, to addreſs myſelf to his Excellency the Governour of this State.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

WE account ourſelves happy, moſt illuſtrious Sire, that by the free election and annual voice of the citizens, GOD hath for ſo many years paſt called you up to the ſupreme Magiſtracy in this commonwealth. And while we rejoice that this State emboſoms numerous characters equal to the higheſt offices of government; yet ſhould this day's election fall again upon him, who, according to the interpretation of his name, * JEHOVAH hath *given us*, it would diffuſe a joy through the *United States*. And ſhould you now reſign the chair, you would enjoy the reflection that you had been carried through a ſcene of the moſt diſtinguiſhed uſefulneſs, and lived to ſee the end of the war and eſtabliſhment of American liberty and INDEPENDENCE.

IT is obſervable, that, by a particular turn of genius, and a peculiar diſcipline in early life, GOD often prepares great cha-

* *Jonathan, Jehovah-natan.*

racters, for that future uſefulneſs and eminence, for which they are deſigned in the world. This was conſpicuous in the inſtances of *Joſeph*, *Moſes*, and *Daniel*; neither of whom in youth, thought that they were training up for the eminent ſpheres of action in which they afterwards moved.

ENDOWED with a ſingular ſtrength of the mental powers, with a vivid and clear perception, with a penetrating and comprehenſive judgment, embelliſhed with the acquiſition of *academical*, *theological*, and *political* erudition, your Excellency became qualified for a very ſingular variety of uſefulneſs in life. Inſtituted in the *ſciences*, the *Hebrew literature*, and *theology*, you was not only prepared for the ſanctuary, but being expert in all queſtions touching the law of your GOD, you became qualified to judge how we, the Miniſters of the Goſpel, under your government, ought to *behave ourſelves in the houſe of* GOD; while it has pleaſed GOD to call you up to other ſervices in civil life. Thus the great *Melchizedeck* was prieſt of the Moſt High GOD, and King of *Salem*. So *Moſes*, though of the tribe of *Levi*, and *learned in all the wiſdom of* Egypt, was called of GOD to be King in *Jeſhurum*,

AN early entrance into civil improvement, and fifty years* ſervice of our country, with an uncommon activity and diſpatch in buſineſs, had familiarized the whole rota of duty in every office and department, antecedent and preparatory to the great glory of your Excellency's life, the laſt *eight* years adminiſtration at the head of this commonwealth; an adminiſtration which has rendered you the *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of your country, and our *dulce decus atque tutamen.*

WE adore the GOD of our fathers, the GOD and father of the ſpirits of all fleſh, that he hath raiſed you up for ſuch a time as this;† and that he hath put into your breaſt a wiſdom, which I cannot deſcribe without adulation—a patriotiſm and intrepid reſolution, a noble and independent ſpirit, and unconquerable love of LIBERTY, RELIGION, and our COUNTRY, and that grace, by which you have been carried through the arduous labours of an high office, with a dignity and glory never before acquired by an American Governour. Our enemies

* 1733 elected Repreſentative—1740 elected into the Council—1766 elected Deputy-Governour—1769 elected Governour.

† *Eſth.* iv. 14.

revere the names of TRUMBULL and WASHINGTON. In honouring the ſtate and councils of Connecticut, you, illuſtrious Sire, have honoured yourſelf to all the confederate Sifter States, to the Congreſs, to the Gallick empire, to *Europe*, and to the world, to the preſent and diſtant ages. And ſhould you now lay down your office, and retire from publick life, we truſt that you may take this people to record, in the language, in which that holy patriot the pious SAMUEL addreſſed *Iſrael*, and ſay unto us—* *I am old, and grey-headed—and I have walked before you from my childhood unto this day. Behold, here I am, witneſs againſt me before the* LORD :— *whoſe ox have I taken? or whoſe aſs have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppreſſed? or of whoſe hand have I received any bribe, to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will reſtore it you. And they ſaid thou haſt not defrauded nor oppreſſed us, neither haſt thou taken ought of any man's hand. And he ſaid unto them, the* LORD *is witneſs againſt you, and his anointed is witneſs this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they anſwered, He is witneſs.*

* I *Sam.* xii. 2.

MAY you receive a reward from the ſupreme Governour of the Univerſe; which will be a reward of grace. For although your Excellency might adopt the words of that illuſtrious Governour NEHEMIAH, and ſay, *think upon me, my* GOD, *for good, according to all that I have done for this people,** yet your ultimate hope for immortality, will be founded in a more glorious merit, than that atchieved by mortals, in the moſt illuſtrious ſcenes of publick uſefulneſs. May the momentary remnant of your days be crowned with a placid tranquillity. And when you ſhall have finiſhed your work on earth, may you be received to the rewards of the juſt and ſhine in the general aſſembly of the firſt born through eternal ages. Amen.

To the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR *and* COUNCIL.

WITH great reſpect would I next addreſs myſelf to his Honour Lieutenant Governour GRISWOLD, and the reſt of honourable COUNSELLORS of this State.

May it pleaſe your Honour, and the other Members of the honourable Council,

THAT ſenatorial order muſt be truly important, which ſtands upon the gene-

* *Neh.* v. 19.

ral voice and election of the publick at large, becauſe it muſt comprehend men of ſuch publick and conſpicuous merit, as to be known among all our tribes, men of approved *patriotiſm* and *wiſdom*, as well as *popularity*. We eſteem it our happineſs that our GOVERNOURS and our NOBLES proceed from ourſelves. When we conſider the trifling and inferiour characters of the moſt of the venal counſellors in the late royal governments, when compared with the ſolid wiſdom of the council of this ſtate, we may be convinced that a legiſlature, ſtanding upon the free election of the people to be governed, bids fair to enſure more wiſdom and incorruptibility, than if in the appointment of the moſt auguſt ſovereigns in the world.

WE glory in it, that this ſtate has at all times furniſhed gentlemen, in the appointment of the people, of abilities equal to every department, and branch of dominion, whether *legiſlative* or *executive*. It is particularly happy, that men impreſſed with the feelings of the people, of great knowledge in laws and juriſprudence, in the civil polity eſpecially of this ſtate, have hitherto been and ſtill are found at the council board, in the military depart-

ments, and in the higheſt judiciary tribunals of this commonwealth.

THIS ſtate has ever preſerved a grave, ſenſible and weighty council, in a pretty delicate ſituation indeed, but of great prudence and influencial wiſdom. It is this council which combines and conſolidates the whole commonwealth.

THE general anniverſary election dictates annually the general ſenſe of the community. And while a rotation to a conſiderable degree, though not by conſtitution, yet by uſage, and the mutability of human paſſions, and in the courſe of events, does in effect take place; we have been happy however, and I hope always ſhall be, in the retention of a number of ancient and venerable counſellors, to tranſmit the wiſdom and experience of their predeceſſors, and to give a ſteady and immutable complexion to the ſucceſſion in the general aſſembly, eſpecially as to the capital matters of *law*, *liberty* and *government*.

WE glory in you, gentlemen, as our crown of rejoicing. We ſecurely confide our liberties and ſafety, the *civil*, *religious* and *literary* welfare of this republick to your ſuperintendence. We pray GOD,

that in all your momentous deliberations and reſolutions, you may be guided by the wiſdom from above, by the mighty Counſellor the Prince of Peace. Amen.

To the HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES.

IT is my duty in the next place, to pay the tribute of publick honour to the reſpectable and numerous body of the Lower Houſe of Aſſembly, the ſecond branch in the honourable legiſlature and ſovereignty of this ſtate.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,*

YOUR houſe is already formed ſtanding on the free, local elections of a free people. From the character of your conſtituents, we doubt not you bring with you the love of liberty, juſtice and publick right. Aſſembled from all our tribes to conſult the publick good, ſo far as this is left to your judgment, you will act with well informed wiſdom and integrity; while ſo far as you know the minds of your conſtituents, may we not preſume that you will hold it your duty to act and

* The Hon. Col. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Member of CONGRESS at the Declaration of Independence.

repreſent their judgments, be your own as they may. You have matters of high moment to attend to, and ſome of a very inſidious nature. Beſides matters of *internal government*, a liquidation of the expenditures of the war, *finance*, *revenue*, *funds*, are ſome of the ſubjects before this aſſembly. It is not impoſſible but you may perceive ſome hovering genius, ſomething of an anti-American ſpirit flitting about, and at times alighting upon ſome within the walls of the ſenate. Will you not hunt it down, and ſend it to the ſhades? May you all be inſpired with a real, hearty and uncorrupted patriotiſm, and firmneſs in the cauſe of liberty and independence. Let an independent liberality of ſentiment, and reverence for right and equity, reign in this branch of the ſenate; that the world may ſee that the adminiſtration of the united branches, combined in the ſovereignty of this ſtate, is conducted with a certain plain, but noble dignity and majeſty.

THIS aſſembly at every ſeſſion for eight years paſt, has been full of the moſt anxious and weighty concerns, for our bleeding country. But this houſe is no more called to raiſe armies, or, amidſt the moſt

complicated diſtreſſes, to deviſe means for their ſupport. What a load, what a burden and weighty care has devolved upon this houſe through the war? But theſe conflicts are at an end. And you will be now called to the arts of peace, and to promote the welfare and aggrandizement of our country.

AND while this honourable houſe is attending to the *ſecular* concerns of civil government, may we not humbly wiſh that you would not repudiate the idea of being *nurſing fathers* to our ſpiritual *Iſrael*, the church of GOD within this ſtate? Give us, gentlemen, the decided aſſurance, that you are friends of the *churches*, and that you are the friends of the *paſtors*, who have certainly, in this trying warfare, approved themſelves the friends of *liberty* and *government*. Your predeceſſors an hundred years ago accounted this among their principal honours. They were ſolicitous to promote *religion* and *learning*, and to give ſuitable encouragement to both.

AND in this connexion will it be forgiven me, if I humbly recommend YALE-COLLEGE to the ſmiles of government? Through the good hand of our GOD upon

us, we may truly ſay, in the language of the ſons of the prophets to Eliſha, *behold now, the place where we dwell is too ſtrait for us.** May we not humbly aſk of the publick, that they would be pleaſed to build us another houſe, or the neceſſary edifices for the reception and accommodation of the youth, but about one *third of the* ſtudents being provided for in the preſent college edifice? Was I not ſo nearly connected with it, I might ſay with truth, what has often been told me by others, that there is not a ſtate upon the continent, but would account ſuch a ſeat of learning, in whoſe hands ſoever it might be, as an illuſtrious ornament to their community.

A TRUST may be well executed, when the end of the truſt is anſwered, although there may have intervened ſome miſmanagements. Small bodies as well as great, not even *Congreſſes* and *Aſſemblies*, and may I not add not even this honourable aſſembly excepted, are not only frequently aſperſed and cenſured, but have ſometimes erred:—So perhaps have the governours of the college; when however upon a candid inquiry, it may be found, that in mo-

* II *Kings*, vi. 1.

ney concerns they have managed with an unexampled frugality, even to parſimony, —that never was there more done to purpoſe with ſo ſmall means in a literary inſtitution—and that the college is at preſent in a pretty flouriſhing ſtate. At my acceſſion in 1778, the number of matriculated undergraduates in the four claſſes, was one hundred and nineteen; and this current year they have been above two hundred and fifty.* And in point of ſcholarſhip and literature, I hope we do not fall very far behind the other ſiſter colleges in *America*.

How happy, were its foundations and emoluments adequate to the civil and religious purpoſes of this inſtitution? An enlargement of the publick library, a complete apparatus for experimental philoſophy, premiums for ſtimulating genius in every branch of literature, endowments of profeſſorſhips, eſpecially thoſe of *philoſo-*

* There are ten colleges in the *United States*, from New-England to Virginia inclusive; beſides two intended ones in the Carolinas. The numbers of undergraduates in the moſt conſiderable are eſtimated as follows:

Founded.		Undergraduates.
1636	Harvard Coll.	150
1692	William and Mary Coll.	100
1746	Jerſey Coll.	60
1755	Philadelphia Coll.	30
1769	Dartmouth Coll.	80

phy, *law* and *medicine*, would be of inconceivable benefit in the liberal education of youth. Theſe things I doubt not will be effected in time; but the literati wiſh to ſee them accompliſhed in the preſent day.

THE college has often ſince its foundation,* experienced the liberality and ſmiles of the general aſſembly; for which it is always ready to return and repeat its thanks and gratitude. Some unhappy differences of ſentiment (together with the war) have interrupted the ſtream of publick munificence. But is there no balm in *Gilead* to heal the wound? Is there no way to accommodate and adjuſt matters, ſo as to conciliate the friendſhip of the ſtate towards its univerſity?

THE ſtates of *Holland*, in the midſt of their expenſive wars in the cauſe of liberty, founded and endowed the univerſity of *Leyden*. Should this ſtate be pleaſed to endow two or three *profeſſorſhips*, and appoint a board of civilians to elect the profeſſors in concurrence with the preſent corporation, and ſee that the monies granted by the ſtate were applied to the uſe to which they were appropriated by the gen-

eral aſſembly—might not this give ſatiſfaction?

BUT I treſpaſs upon your patience. All the great intereſts of this ſtate, whether as a ſeparate ſovereignty, or in its connexion with the *United States*, are entruſted to you. A very weighty truſt! You have a thouſand pious prayers going up for you daily at the throne of grace. You have all the patriots ſaying, be ſtrong O *Zorobbabels*: You have all the miniſters inculcating obedience to you. And may you above all, have the influencial guidance of unerring wiſdom, to render you acceptable to the multitude of your brethren, to make you eminent bleſſings in your day, and reward you with immortality and glory in the world to come. Amen.

To the MINISTERS.

AND now I turn myſelf to the PASTORS of the churches.

Reverend and beloved Brethren,

I HAVE not aſſumed upon me to dictate to the civil *magiſtracy*, nor do I dictate to the *ſacerdotal* order: albeit I might ſpeak to the moſt of my brethren preſent, as being ſuch an one in years, as *Paul* the

aged. Condeſcend however, holy brethren, to receive a humble addreſs from one, who loves the order with a ſincere and fervent affection, although πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῷ ἐλαχίστῳ ἐλαχιστότερος.

PERMIT me then to ſay, that, while we do not fail to inculcate obedience to the magiſtracy and laws, and recommend to our people the election of a pious magiſtracy; our principal work is not ſecular but ſpiritual and divine. Let us with the greateſt aſſiduity devote ourſelves to our LORD's work, as ambaſſadours of the Prince of Peace. Let us preach the divinity and unſearchable riches of CHRIST, and ſalvation by his atonement; that theological ſyſtem, which places the whole of redemption upon free grace—a grace free as to us, though merited by the Holy Redeemer. Let us ſearch the ſcriptures for the real evangelical verity: and inquire, not ſo much for new theories in divinity, as what truths were known and realized in *faith* and *life*, by the primitive Chriſtians of the apoſtolick age, and the three firſt centuries; and believe that no other ſyſtem, no other doctrines are eſſentially neceſſary to carry men to heaven in theſe ages, than thoſe which enabled the

myriads of holy martyrs to ſeal the teſtimony of JESUS with their blood.

THERE is but one true ſyſtem of theology, and perhaps this has been equally known in all Chriſtian ages. For although great improvements and diſcoveries are daily making in philoſophy and natural ſcience, yet there have been no new diſcoveries in divinity, ſince the apoſtolick age: I do not mean merely no new revelation, but of the innumerable latent truths concealed in the Bible (and there are infinitely greater treaſures hidden there than in nature) none have been perceived in later ages, but what have been as clearly diſcerned by the contemplative theologians of all ages. The ſentiments are the ſame, though clothed in different diction. Philoſophy, as I ſaid, is improving, nor has the progreſs of civil ſociety yet reached its ſummit: but divinity, I apprehend, has been long at a ſtand, having ages ago come to the higheſt perfection intended us at preſent by heaven; which did not deſign any further improvement in it, from the ſealing of the viſion until the ſecond coming of CHRIST. In the Millennium theſe hidden treaſures will be brought forth. But for the pre-

ceding period, divinity will be and remain at a ſtand, except perhaps that towards the cloſe of it, the prophecies will diſcloſe themſelves.

RELIGION has had and will have different faſhions, even where it is ſtill eſſentially the ſame. Previous to the tenth century, the writings of St. *Auguſtine* gave an extenſive complexion to theology: afterwards *Lombard's* collection of ſentences or opinions of evangelical divines: but he was ſhoved into neglect by *Aquinas*, who reigned umpire until the reformation. *Luther* followed *Auguſtine*, and *Calvin Aquinas*. The real theology of *Melacton*, *Calvin*, archbiſhop *Cranmer* and *Owen*, was one and the ſame.

WE deſpiſe the *Fathers* and the pious and learned divines of the *middle* ages; Pious poſterity will do the ſame by us; and twirl over our moſt favourite authors with the ſame ignorant pity and neglect: Happy they, if their favourite authors contain the ſame bleſſed truths.

I REJOICE that GOD has hitherto preſerved a learned and evangelical miniſtry in theſe churches. The theology in general reception, comprehends all the excellent things of our common Chriſtianity. And

if ſome favourite *hurekas*, ſome fancied diſcoveries, ſhould be burnt up in the day of the LORD, yet there will be left as great an abundance of precious ſtones, of the tried and pure gold of truth, as in any part of the world. Indeed we have gotten all the light of Chriſtendom, and we need no more. We have enough; we are wealthy in ſacred knowledge. We may ſpend long lives, in making ourſelves maſters of that vaſt treaſure of ſacred wiſdom, which holy men of great light have attained. May I comprehend with all ſaints the height and depth of this knowledge, may my GOD poſſeſs me of this treaſure, and I am content. All this knowledge, to the greateſt extent of the human limit, has been gotten and acquired over and over, again and again. Like other ſcience, to every generation it ſeems new, while it is only poſſeſſing the knowledge familiar to our predeceſſors.

MOREOVER, charity, union and benevolence are peculiarly ornamental in the miniſterial order. Let us cheriſh theſe amiable graces in ourſelves and others. Let us be faithful. And the nearer we come to the ſolemn moment when we muſt render our account to GOD the Judge, the

more may we be quickened and animated in the miniſtry; and think no labour, no aſſiduity too great, nothing too much to be done for the ſalvation of precious and immortal ſouls, nothing too much for the cauſe and kingdom of him who hath loved us to the death. May you, holy brethren, *be ſtrong in the grace which is in our Lord* JESUS CHRIST: May the work, the pleaſure of the LORD proſper in your hands: May you be honoured of JESUS to *turn many to righteouſneſs*. And when the Chief Shepherd ſhall appear, may you receive a crown of glory which fadeth not away. Amen.

To the ASSEMBLY *at large.*

AND now, my fellow citizens of this independent republick, my fellow Chriſtians of every order and denomination in this aſſembly, and all you that fear GOD and hear me this day, give audience.

THE Moſt High planted our fathers, a ſmall handful, in this *Jeſhimon*; and lo! we their poſterity have ariſen up to three millions of people. *Deut.* X. 22. Our ears have heard, and our fathers have told us, the marvellous things GOD did for them; but our eyes have ſeen far

more marvellous things done for us, whereof we are glad and rejoice this day. Should our anceſtors look down from the high abodes of paradiſe into this aſſembly, and attend to the things which we have been this day commemorating, methinks they might catch a ſenſation of joy at beholding the reign, the triumph of LIBERTY on earth! Hitherto has *our bow abode in ſtrength*, and our *arms been made ſtrong by the hands of the mighty* GOD *of* Jacob. And while amidſt the feſtivity of this anniverſary election, we congratulate one another and our country upon the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and that having fought the good fight, our warfare is ended; let us not fail to look through Providence up to the GOD of Providence, and give glory to GOD the Lord of Hoſts, the GOD of our fathers; whom *let us ſerve with a perfect heart and a willing mind.* Let us cultivate and cheriſh the virtues of the *divine* as well as *civil* life, bearing in mind that we are all haſtening to that period wherein all the glories of this world will be ſwallowed up and loſt in the glories of immortality. Be it our great ambition, our inceſſant endeavour, to act our parts worthily on the ſtage of life, as looking

for and haſtening to the coming of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. May we be prepared for the ſolemnities of a far more auguſt aſſembly, than the moſt ſplendid aſſembly on earth. We are ardently purſuing this world's *riches, honours, powers, pleaſures*— let us poſſeſs them, and then know that they are *nothing, nothing, nothing*. They ſerve a temporary gratification, evaniſh, and are no more. But we cannot be diſſuaded from the purſuit. Death however kindly ends it. Let us think that we have two worlds to live for, proportion our attention to their reſpective intereſts, and we ſhall be happy forever. We ſhall then be prepared to ſhine in the aſſembly of the juſt at the right hand of the Sovereign of Life. How glorious to bear a part in the triumphs of virtue, the triumphs of the Redeemer, in the laſt day of the great and general aſſembly of the univerſe? How glorious to make a part of that infinitely honoured and dignified body, which cloth-ed with the Redeemer's righteouſneſs, and walking in white robes, ſhall be led by the *Meſſiah*, through the ſhining ranks of archangels, ſeraphims, and the innumerable hoſts of the whole aſſembled univerſe, up to the throne of GOD, and being pre-

ſented to and received by the triune JEHOVAH, ſhall be ſeated with JESUS in his throne at the ſummit of the univerſe, to the conſpicuous view, and for the eternal contemplation of the whole intellectual world, as an everlaſting monument of ſovereign grace, Eph. iii. 10, 11. *To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places might be known, by the church, the manifold wiſdom of* GOD, *according to the eternal purpoſe which he purpoſed in* CHRIST JESUS *our Lord.* To whom be glory in the church through the never ending ſucceſſion of eternal ages. AMEN.

FINIS.

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